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ANSWER OF THE AGENT
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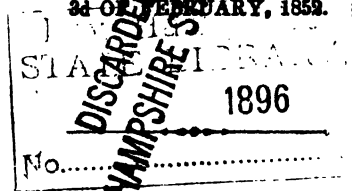
TO THE

RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY ON THE SUBJECT

OF

AFRICAN COLONIZATION,

PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF INDIANA, ON THE
24 OF FEBRUARY, 1852.



INDIANAPOLIS:
J. P. CHAPMAN, STATE PRINTER.
1852.

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HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
February 3, 1852.

Rev. J. MITCHELL,
Agent of the American Colonization Society:—

I have the honor to communicate to you the enclosed copy of a resolution this day adopted by the Indiana House of Representatives, to which an answer, at an early date is most respectfully solicited.

I am sir, with respect,
GEORGE L. SITES,
Clerk of House of Representatives.

Resolved, That the Rev. J. Mitchell, Agent of the American Colonization Society, be respectfully requested to furnish to this House at his earliest convenience, answers to the following questions, viz :

1st. Should the State of Indiana determine to establish a settlement on the coast of Africa, for the accommodation of her colored people, where will be the best point ?

2d. What will be the probable cost of procuring an extent of territory sufficient for the purpose ? what its location, health, fertility, natural productions and inducements for such a settlement ?

3d. What is the character of the soil of Liberia, nature of climate, character of its inhabitants and government ?

4th. What are the inducements for sending our colored population to Liberia ?

5th. How much does it cost to transport emigrants to Liberia each ?

6th. What is the number of colored persons in Indiana at this time, and what proportion of them could probably be induced to emigrate to the land of their fathers ? and to furnish any other information pertinent to the subject in his possession ; and that a copy of this resolution be immediately furnished to the Rev. J. Mitchell, by the clerk of this House.

Adopted February 3, 1852.

INDIANAPOLIS, Feb. 21, 1852.

Hon. J. W. DAVIS,
*Speaker of the House of Representatives
of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:*

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the resolution of inquiry, in relation to our State colonizing our colored people on the Western coast of Africa, which was adopted by your branch of the General Assembly on the 3d inst.

And I herewith respectfully submit an answer thereto.

Your with great respect,
JAMES MITCHELL,
Agent Colonization Society.

A N S W E R .

INDIANAPOLIS, February 21, 1852.

*To the Hon. Speaker and Members of the
House of Representatives of the State of Indiana :*

GENTLEMEN:—I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your resolution of inquiry in relation to African colonization, communicated by your clerk on the 4th inst. And with great pleasure, I will try and answer the inquiries found therein to the best of my ability.

You desire to know *the proper point for a new settlement*, should such an one be formed by your State; *what the location, cost, fertility and health thereof*, together with the general character of *the soil of Liberia, natural productions, climate and character of the inhabitants, and nature of their government.*

And likewise *the cost of transporting emigrants, the number that will likely go from our State, the number of colored persons in this State, and the inducements or reasons for sending our colored people to Africa.*

1st. In answer to your first question we will say, that should you resolve to found a new settlement on the western coast of Africa, in my opinion, Grand Cake Mount is the best place for such a settlement. This is one of the most prominent points on that coast, the country around is high and rolling, and remarkably well-watered, being likewise very fertile. Cape Mount is a bold head land, rising gradually to an elevation of 1,060 feet above the level of the sea; those high lands are covered with a heavy forest. Within a few miles of the Cape the Passou, or Cape Mount river discharges itself into a small bay, formed by the projection of Cape Mount on the south and *Manna* point, eight miles above on the north; into this bay another *river*, the Sugary flows. These streams are not of the first class, but *they* are navigable for boats some distance from the mouth.

The most western point of this cape is in latitude 6 deg. 44 min. 25 sec. north, and in 11 deg. 23 min. 16 sec. west longitude, and it is about 50 miles west north-west of Monrovia, the capital of the Republic of Liberia.

Grand Cape Mount is generally the first point of land that meets the eye of our emigrants as they approach the African coast, on their voyage to Liberia, and from its northern location and natural advantages, it must become one of the most important commercial points in Liberia. Indeed, it has always been a place somewhat noted for trade, and thousands of dollars have changed hands annually at that point, it being a few years ago a notorious and successful slave mart, costing the United States, England and France, much trouble to watch it.

Of this country, J. N. Lewis, then Secretary of State for Liberia, writes in the following strong terms: "Should we ever succeed in making a purchase of that country, it will be at a very dear rate. The people are far more intelligent than any of the tribes within our jurisdiction; their state of living is very expensive, and I am quite certain that they would charge \$5,000 at least for it,—and so it will be for any of the territories lying between it and the Sherbro river," (which borders the English settlement on the south.) "We cannot say how far it extends into the interior; it is a very large and beautiful country, and I presume the people near the sea will say that it extends back a great distance."

About two years ago, President Roberts negotiated with the owners for this country, and closed a contract with them; but we have good reason to suppose that he has not been able to furnish all the money necessary to pay the price stipulated. If those *well grounded* suppositions are correct, we have no doubt but arrangements can be made by which Indiana can become a party to the purchase, and secure a given section on the land register of Liberia, to be set to the credit of emigrants from this State, on which our State authorities may draw from time to time, by issuing certificates, or land warrants, to such of our colored people as may emigrate.

Of the above location, President Roberts thus writes to us: "There are several locations within our jurisdiction between this place and Sierra Leone, for settlements, and may be occupied at the shortest notice. I would recommend Grand Cape Mount, which is a fertile and well watered country, and possesses many inducements or natural advantages to new emigrants; and the natives are exceedingly anxious to have an American settlement near them. I presume there will be no difficulty in obtaining these, or at any point in that direction, any quantity of land you may wish for emigrants coming from Indiana."

In addition to the above, I will subjoin some extracts of letters, addressed to me by W. W. Finley, a colored man, who emigrated from this State, and M. H. Smith, who has been in Liberia nine years, and is now a member of the Liberia Legislature. Those men

say in a joint letter, written August 30th, 1851,—“we had contemplated recommending an interior settlement, but we have changed our views, as there is not a sufficient water passage; therefore we would recommend Grand Cape Mount, as there is land in abundance for all the western States, to have their different settlements and name them after each State; that is the best place on the coast according to our view, as it is high and healthy, the land being fertile, there being likewise a fine river, and a good harbor. This point is sufficiently distant from Monrovia to form a new county.”

Mr. J. Ashmon, represents the inhabitants of this country as superior to their southern neighbors “in intellectual endowments, urbanity of manners, profound dissimulation,” and because of “their profession of the Mohomedan faith, they being the dividing tribe between Mohomedan and Pagan Africa; he represents them as remarkable for sobriety, perseverance, activity and avarice, and likewise for extreme jealousy of the interference of strangers either in their trade, or in their territorial jurisdiction, or their civil affairs.” The name by which this tribe is known is the Fey or Vey nation, and their number is about ten or fifteen thousand. A nation called the Day tribe occupies the territory between Cape Mount and Monrovia, who are far inferior to the Veyes in every respect; they are a Pagan tribe about ten thousand in number.

In the time of Ashmon the trade of Cape Mount and country adjoining was stated at “*fifty thousand dollars.*”

2. *The cost of territory at Grand Cape Mount, or in the neighborhood, must be governed by the first cost and contingent expenses.*

We find a letter from President Roberts, stating the terms of purchase, published in the Appendix to the Report of the Naval Committee on the subject of the contemplated time of transports to Africa. We will give a few extracts from that letter:

“MONROVIA, May 17th, 1850.

“I have just returned from the windward coast, and I avail myself of the opportunity to send you a hasty note, to say that we have at length succeeded in securing the famed territory of Gallinas to this government, including all the territory between Cape Mount and Shebar, excepting a small strip of about five miles of coast in the Kellou country, which will also soon fall into our hands.

“For these tracts, we have incurred a large debt, and we confidently look to you to aid us in meeting these liabilities at maturity. Had I not deemed it absolutely important to secure the Gallinas, to prevent the revival of the slave trade there, I would not have paid the price demanded. The purchase of Gallinas and neighboring tracts will cost us about \$9,500.

“The chiefs were aware of the object of the purchase, and urged strenuously its sacrifice, as they considered it, they must make in abandoning the slave trade—and demanded a large sum as forever.”

an equivalent. In addition to the amount stated above, we have obliged ourselves to appoint commissioners immediately to settle the wars in the country, (*should any occur*.) and open the trade in camwood, ivory and palm oil, with the interior tribes; and also settle amongst them, as soon as convenient, *persons capable of instructing them in the arts of husbandry*. This will also cost us a considerable sum, which will, no doubt, be returned in the end by the advantages the trade will give. Still, the present outlay will be, I fear, more than equal to our ability."

The section of country thus purchased, from its southern limits, on the confines of the old settlements, to its northern limits on the borders of Sierra Leone, is about 200 miles in extent along the coast, and about 50 miles back. If we state the first cost at \$10,000, the cost per mile will be \$50. Nor is this much higher than has been paid in former contracts with the natives. We have just examined the copies of three deeds made to the authorities of Liberia, in 1848, by tribes living south of Monrovia; and the following is the rate of purchase per mile coast-ways and forty miles deep: one section at \$30 40 per mile; another at \$75 per mile; and the third at \$96½ per mile. From this statement it will be well to calculate on paying something over \$50 per mile for such as you may buy.

3. The third point—the *fertility* of the country around Cape Mount—has been fully answered in the above communications of Roberts, Lewis, Finley and Smith, who all concur in representing it as a delightful and desirable country.

4. On their evidence, likewise, we must believe it to be a *healthy region*; and the fact that the native tribes who formerly owned the country, were the most warlike, robust and intelligent of all tribes on that coast, is strong proof that the climate at that point is congenial to human life, health and vigor of mind.

5. The next point presented is the character of the *soil of Liberia*. Liberia, extending as it does, about 600 miles along the coast, from the southern limit of Sierra Leone, to the southern limit of the Cape Palmas, or Maryland Colony, must needs embrace quite a variety of soil, differing in appearance, quality and productiveness.

"That of the uplands, though generally much inferior to that of the low lands, is better adapted for some articles. The upland soil usually consists of a reddish clay, more or less mixed with soft rocks and stones, containing considerable quantities of iron. There are three kinds of lowland soil, one of which is that on the banks of the rivers, within a few miles of the sea: this consists of a loose, deep, black mould, which is peculiarly adapted to the growth of those kinds of vegetables which thrive best during the dry season. Another variety is that which is generally found extending back from the banks of the rivers, further from the sea than the first named: it consists of a light clay, more or less tempered with sand, and is well adapted to almost every kind of vegetables which thrive in

tropical climates. The third quality is that of the low lands, in the immediate vicinity of the ocean, consisting principally of sand, and it is really astonishing to perceive how well many vegetables will grow in this kind of soil, even within fifty yards of the ocean in some places."

The above remarks are drawn from a series of articles, published a short time past by Dr. J. W. Lugenbell, who for many years was the principal physician in Liberia, and likewise acted as American agent for the care of recaptured Africans. His statements on those points are founded on careful and long observation.

In addition to these remarks, we will give an extract from a communication of Mr. Ashmun, one of the first Agents of the Colonization Society, who spent many years in Liberia, and was the principal instrument, under a wise Providence, in giving stability to the foundations of the colony. The communication referred to, is a manual called the *Liberia Farmer, or Colonist's Guide*, addressed to the colonists, the truthfulness of which has never been questioned. He says:

"The soil of Liberia depends for its quality much on the situation of the lands. The uplands have two varieties of soil. The first is that strong and deep mould which is always found where the hard, brown granite rocks are most numerous. This soil is certainly very capable of being turned to a very profitable account. Observe everywhere in the beds of those rocks, the thrifty and strong growth of timber. The largest trees are commonly found in such situations. This is, however, a wet season soil, and must not be expected to give you a crop in the dry months. I shall call this *the strong upland soil*.

"The other species of upland soil is of a much inferior quality. It consists of a reddish, clayey earth, everywhere more or less mixed with soft, rust-colored rocks, stones and gravel. The red color of the soil and rocks is caused by the rust of the iron particles intermingled with it. Manure may in time render it productive; but the best mode yet discovered to fertilize this soil is to burn over the surface in clearing the land, and to spread small quantities of ashes or lime over it, after the first crop. I shall distinguish this as *the weak upland soil*.

"There are three sorts of lowland soil. The first and richest is that formed on the sides of the rivers, and from the wash of the uplands it is always wet during the rains, and consists of a loose, deep, black mould, and is entirely free from rocks and gravel. This soil will produce any crop which you choose to plant, but is especially adapted to early rice, and to all those vegetables which thrive in dry seasons. I shall call this *the black lowland soil*.

"The second variety of soil in the bottom land I shall name *the stiff clayey soil*. It consists of a lightish colored clay, sometimes a little tempered with coarse sand. It is the subject of the extremes of wet and drouth, but produces good crops, and may be much improved by manuring."

"*The sandy soil* is the third variety found in the level country. It is most prevalent wherever the land has, in course of time, gained upon the ocean, or channels of rivers. It is a light, warm soil, and will yield only slender crops without manure. Sweet potatoes, beans, cassada, and succulent fruit trees, will succeed best in it."

In another part of the manual on agriculture, from which the above is taken, Mr. Ashmun thus addresses the colonists:

"The flat lands around you, and particularly your farms, have as good a soil as can be met with in any country. They will produce two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables, in the year. They will yield a larger crop than the best soils in America, and they will produce a number of very valuable articles, for which in the United States, millions of money are every year paid away to foreigners. One acre of rich land, well tilled, will produce you three hundred dollars' worth of indigo. Half an acre may be made to grow half a ton of arrow root. Four acres laid out in coffee plants will, after the third year, produce you a clear income of two or three hundred dollars. Half an acre of cotton trees will clothe your whole family, and, except a little hosing, your wife and children can perform the whole labor of cropping and manufacturing it. One acre of cane will make you independent of all the world for the sugar you use in your family. One acre set with fruit trees and well attended, will furnish you the year round with more plantains, bananas, oranges, limes, guavas, pawpaws, and pine apples, than you will ever gather. Nine months of the year, you may grow fresh vegetables every month, and some of you who have lowland plantations may do so throughout the year."

The general correctness of the above remarks is thus endorsed by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who was sent out by President Taylor to obtain information in regard to Liberia. After quoting, in his report, the above paragraph, he says:

"My observations on the banks of the rivers of the Republic, (especially the St. Paul's, the St. John's, and the Sinou,) along both sides of Stockton Creek, and among the gardens of Monrovia, and the plantations in its vicinity, confirmed my belief in the general correctness of this statement."

6. Your next inquiry relates to the *natural productions of Liberia*. We will answer this, partly by quoting the language of Dr. Lugubell, and partly that of Ashmun.

"Nearly all the different kinds of grain, roots, and fruits which are peculiar to inter-tropical climates thrive well in Liberia; and many garden vegetables which belong more properly to temperate climates may be raised, in quality not much inferior to the same kind of articles produced in climates peculiarly adapted to their growth." But the principal articles of produce, and which are destined to be the great staples of that country are rice, cotton, sugar, and coffee; to which must be added, "corn, capada, yams, sweet potatoes, arrow root, Lima and other beans, peas, cabbages, turnips,

beets, carrots, tomatoes, cymplings, chiota, ochra, cucumbers, many varieties of pepper, ground nuts, palma christi, the India rubber tree, the croton oil tree, and the palm tree, and among their fruits the Liberians number the orange, lemon, limes, guava, pine apple, plantain, banana, tamarinds, rose apples, pomegranates, cherries, cocoa nuts, pawpaws, mango plums, alligator pears, patango, bread fruit, arellous, and various valuable vegetables and fruits of the tropics. Most of these have I myself seen growing luxuriantly in the gardens and farms of the republic."

"According to the late Mr. Buxton, whose researches on the subject of the agricultural and commercial resources of Africa were very accurate and extensive, of dye-woods there are an abundance, yielding carmine, crimson, red, brown, brilliant yellow, and blue; of gums, there are copal, senegal, mastic, and sudan or Turkey gum. The she or butternut is hardly less valuable than the palm nut. The tree producing it is said to extend over a large portion of the continent. Park thought the butter made from it superior to that made from cow's milk."

"No country in the world is more amply enriched than this is with the chief productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The ground nut yields a pure golden colored oil of a pleasant taste, and has been sold as high as £50 per ton, (about \$240.) The castor nut grows wild on the banks of the Gambia and elsewhere. The ginger of Africa is particularly fine and high-flavored; it yields about sixty for one, and the people only want method for preparing it for the European market."

"The woods of this continent are extremely valuable. Travelers enumerate not less than forty species of timber, which grow in vast abundance, and are easily obtained; such as mahogany, lignumvitæ, rose wood, &c., &c."

"With few considerable exceptions the whole line of coast in Western Africa accessible to trading vessels, presents immense tracts of lands of the most fertile character, which only require the hand of industry and commercial enterprise to turn into inexhaustible mines of wealth."—*Gurley's Report*.

The rivers of Liberia are the St. Paul's, St. John's, the Junk river, Half Cape Mount, Mechlin, the New Cess, the Grand Cess, the Sanguen, the Sinon; and in the new purchase there is the Gallinas, Solyman, Manna, Sugury, and Grand Cape Mount river; to which we may add the Shebar. The rivers of Liberia are not very large, although some of them are from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile wide, for fifty miles or more from their entrance into the ocean.

A graphic description of the general aspect of the country is given in the following language by Rev. J. Day, the superintendent of the Southern Baptist Mission, who resides in Bexley, on the St. John's, and who has explored the interior for seventy or seventy-five miles:

"From seven to twenty miles, the country is beautifully undula-

ting, and interspersed with the most lovely rills of excellent water, clear as crystal, foaming and scolding among the rocks, presenting a thousand mill seats. The air in that region is salubrious and bracing, the soil deep and rich, covered with a forest which, for the height and size of the trees, I have never seen equalled. From twenty to thirty miles is a region of small mountains, of from three to five hundred feet in elevation. These mountains are covered with a rich forest, and may be cultivated. I have stood on the summit of one of them cultivated to the top, and thence beheld a delightful prospect. Beyond these hills, or mountains as we call them, the land becomes generally more level to the distance of seventy miles, the extent of my interior travels. I am told by the natives that a day's walk beyond are loftier mountains, which it will require a whole day to ascend, and very steep. If this is the case, the country I speak of is a valley. The soil of the whole distance is rich, water abundant and good, and the cause of disease is no more apparent than in level regions in America. If our people want health, they may as surely obtain it in the mountainous region as by trans-Atlantic trips. I have left home in bad health, on preaching tours of two or three weeks, and returned vigorous and strong. The birds sing more sweetly there, and the flowers are more beautiful and fragrant than in the marshy region bordering on the sea. The natives are more industrious, honest, happy, and hopeful every way in that region. To thousands in that forest-clad region have I preached while they were as attentive even as congregations in America."

"The principal domestic animals in Liberia are cows or black cattle, sheep, swine, geese, turkeys, ducks, and chickens. Horses are plentiful in the interior, within three hundred miles of the coast, but they do not thrive well in the settlements, in consequence, principally, of the want of proper management."

7. *The climate* is congenial to those who inhabit that country, and there is nothing essentially destructive to life or health therein, but the general testimony is that the native tribes, and those American settlers who have been acclimated, enjoy good health.

Mr. Gurley, in his report, says: "From my own experience of two months on the coast of Liberia, I may be allowed to say that my impressions of the African climate are more favorable than those I had derived from books; for though our arrival occurred during the latter portion of what is called the rainy season, and we continued on the coast during most of the transition period from that to the dry season; the weather was generally clear and pleasant, and we were seldom deterred for an entire day from visiting the shore, or from moderate physical exertion."

"No one can look upon the athletic, finely proportioned and developed forms of native Africans, or upon a congregation of the inhabitants of Monrovia, or of the other towns and villages of the Liberian Republic, and retain the idea that health cannot be enjoyed on the African coast. The general aspect of the people of Liberia

is health, and I am convinced, from much observation and many inquiries, that the dangers of the climate to colored emigrants are becoming less and less formidable, and that soon they will to a good degree, be averted by the cultivation of the soil, an appropriate regimen, and increased medical experience and skill."

To the above we will add the testimony of Dr. Lugubell.

"On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia as decidedly pleasant, notwithstanding the scorching rays of the tropical sun, and the "abundance of rain" which falls during the year, especially during the months of June, July, September, and October. So far as the pleasantness of the climate and weather is concerned, I would decidedly prefer a residence in Liberia to one in any part of the United States.

"The extreme of the thermometrical state of the atmosphere may be set down at 65 degrees and 90 degrees. I have never heard of the mercury in a good thermometer having sunk below the former, nor arisen above the latter point in the shade. The average height of the mercury, during the rainy season, may be set down at about 76 degrees, and during the dry season at 84 degrees. The mean temperature for the year is about 80 degrees."

From these figures it will be seen that the heat of Liberia is not excessive, nor is it as great as that of some points in the south of our own country, where the thermometer frequently stands as high as 90 deg.; add to this the fact that cold winters, cold nights, and the cold and snow of this country are unknown there, and we will be able to comprehend the reason why those who have visited Liberia consider the climate desirable.

8. As to the *character of the inhabitants* of a country, we generally form a correct opinion by examining their institutions; and if we are thus to judge the Liberians, we must form a high opinion of them; for their institutions, so far as formed, are of the most liberal and enlightened character, and the people themselves have made a very favorable impression on the minds of those who have visited them. In evidence of which, I will quote a few extracts:

"They (the colonists) considered that they had started into new existence, felt proud of their attitude, and seemed conscious that while they were founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers. I was pleased to observe that they were impressed with the importance of education, not only for their own children, but for those of the natives. That there are many vast resources yet undeveloped in Liberia, no one can doubt; and that they will soon be brought forth and made available by the enterprise and intelligence of the colonists, is equally unquestionable."—*Capt. Kennedy, U. S. Navy.*

"Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect of the people over their colored brethren in America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane oath

uttered by any one. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property."—*Capt. Abels, Emigrant Ship.*

"The youth of the colonies discover an eager desire for improvement; and their progress, considering their opportunities, is almost incredible. Among the young men of Monrovia there is a larger proportion of good accountants and elegant penmen, than in any town (American) of his acquaintance."—*Gov. Buchanan.*

"The character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings; their manners serious and decorous, and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. The complete success of this colony is a proof that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race; and that the melioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical."—*A British Naval Officer.*

9. "*The Government of Liberia* is based on the principles of republicanism; and in every essential particular it may be regarded as a miniature representation of the Government of the United States; the only particular point of difference being in the name of the national assembly, which is styled Legislature instead of Congress, and in the time of service of the principal officers of the Government. The President is elected by the popular vote for two years, and he is eligible to re-election. The Senators, of whom there are two from each county—six in all—are elected for four years, and the Representatives, of whom there are eight in all, are elected for two years. The only cabinet officers who have yet been commissioned are the Secretaries of State and of the Treasury, and the Attorney General. All the officers of justice are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The judicial power of the republic is vested in a Supreme Court, a court of quarter sessions in each county, and magistrate's courts, which meet monthly. No white person is allowed to become a citizen."—*Dr. Lugenbell.*

Such is the country, and such are the institutions of the land to which you are about to transfer your people of color.

10. *The cost* of transporting emigrants and finding them in provisions for six months, will average about \$50 per emigrant. This has been considered all sufficient to provision them during the voyage, and give them a reasonable start in Liberia. But sound policy will dictate a liberal course in regard to such as go from this State, and therefore we should raise the above estimate as much as possible.

11. *The number* of colored persons living in Indiana at this time is about ten thousand. If those people would remove to Liberia, they are sufficiently strong to lay the foundation of a new State of respectable size; and amongst them they can number some men of decided ability, who would control a republic much better than some of our French neighbors.

12. *As to the number that will likely go to Liberia.* I will just say that the number is great in Indiana, and becoming greater every year. I have letters of application for a passage to Liberia from colored men who must represent at least over 75 individuals. In all cases I have requested the applicants to abide the action of the State in the case, as I believed there was benevolence enough in our statesmen to meet their reasonable demand for a removal. I will subjoin a few extracts from letters on the subject: "I write," says one, "to inquire when, and from where the Liberian emigrants embark for Liberia, and all the particulars for an outfit for the trip, as I and several others have determined to go the first opportunity."

"Daviess county, Jan. 26th, 1852."

"This is to inform you of my intention to leave this place for the coast of Africa, and not knowing to which point I shall go, I would like you to give me some information as to the situation of places in Liberia, as well as the necessary preparation and provisions to be made for a journey to that country, the time of sailing of the next vessel, and where from."

"Tippecanoe county, July 23d, 1850."

Another thus writes: "I am determined, if life lasts, to be ready to start in the next expedition. I have about closed up my business here."

"Lafayette, March 14th, 1851."

A fourth thus closes an appeal to the writer, begging a passage to Liberia: "I submit this letter to your judgment and consideration, and hope that the friends of Liberia will lend us a helping hand, and enable those that have the desire to emigrate, to go; and be assured that I for one appreciate the efforts you have made."

"Vincennes, June 23d, 1851."

We have no doubt that the number of such applications will increase from year to year until the tide of emigration is reversed, and rolls back from the new world to the old, carrying with it salvation for Africa.

As to the inducements or reasons for sending colored people to Africa; they are numerous, but they may be compressed into two arguments, which I will respectfully submit.

The first is the general degradation of the African race, and the remedy.

The second is, the separation of the white and colored races of North America is just and politic.

DEGRADATION OF THE DIFFERENT MASSES CONSIDERED IN REGULAR ORDER.

In casting the eye over the world we find, here and there, large masses of human beings of African origin; but we find little in those masses that is of an elevated character. Few, very few, are the bright spots found under African rule, which can relieve the general scene of negro degradation.

Another thing that meets the eye of the casual observer is the indifference of the civilized world to this state of degradation, but especially the indifference of our own nation to this subject. With coolness and indifference we behold over one hundred and fifty million human beings sunk in ignorance and servitude; and too many of us are disposed to let them riot in the mire of their degradation, rather than put forth the hand of the samaritan, or drop one tear of pity over their wrongs.

It is true, there is an advance in public feeling and opinion, which is favorable to the colored race; but it has been forced upon us by a series of providences that we could not check. No faction or party should claim the honor of this state of things, for the glory belongs to *another*—to that Being whose providence controls all things, and who wills that Africa should ere long “stretch out her hands unto God.” We fear that most of the agitators of negro wrongs are actuated by party and political motives, and not by a pure benevolence. This is evident from the fact that little effort has been made to rescue the colored man from actual degradation; for cutting off the chains of the slave is but an *inconsiderable*, very *inconsiderable* step in the work of negro elevation; he has yet to be made a man—a *free man*.

Americans are responsible for much of the African degradation of our day; and should God inquire of us, as he did of Cain, “Where is thy brother?” what answer could we give to this? So far as we have had charge of our brother, or stand related to him, we can point to a prostrate man, upon whose neck rests the heel of oppression, and say, “*There is our brother!*” But let us inquire honestly how far we are responsible for the existing state of things; and in doing so we will review the masses of Africans, in ascending order.

THE NATIVES OF AFRICA

are the most degraded of the race, as any candid man will admit, upon examining the narratives of travelers or the reports of missionaries. They tell us that the Bushman is but a remove from the beast of the forest, and far more unnatural to his offspring; and that the Ashantee and surrounding nations worship devils, and offer human sacrifices by the thousand. Many of the more powerful tribes make annual slave hunts, to procure slaves for the slave market. In these wars, made to take captives for slavery, about as many warriors and people are killed as there are slaves captured; for the victors kill all the old people who are not fit for the slave market, and permit the little children to perish, reserving the youth and able-bodied for the market. This is a true picture of the African tribes. There may be a few exceptions among the northern tribes, but the exceptions are so *inconsiderable*, that they cannot vitiate our statement. Africa is supposed to contain over one hundred million souls; and the worst of their case is the fact that they

know not God, but are covered with a darkness deeper than night, and have actually deified the devil, and worship him as their god. In no part of the world has Satan obtained such a complete triumph over poor man as in Africa.

For the degradation of the native African in *past time* we are not responsible. But we shall be responsible for his degradation in the *future*, if we neglect to use such means of elevation as God has placed at our disposal. We will consider these means in another place.

THE SLAVES OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

constitute the next mass of degraded Africans. It is needless for us to spend time in depicting the horrors of American slavery; they are well known, and are becoming more odious every day. But of the two continents, slavery in the northern is more *tolerable* than in the southern continent, because of the civil and religious institutions which surround the slave in the United States. Indeed, it is to be feared that the slaves of South America are not far removed from the state of the rude barbarian; but for the slaves of the United States we must claim a great pre-eminence above the native African; in intellectual culture, in morals, and in manners, the slave of the United States is infinitely the superior of the barbarian, as is shown by bringing them together on the coast of Africa, where the schooled colored man shows the talents of a master mind; and the native, conscious of his inferiority, submits to direction and control, as in the case of Liberia and the surrounding tribes. This develops the fact, that slavery has been a school for the barbarian, in which Divine Providence permitted him to be placed that he and his children might be elevated. Thus God overruled the cupidity and wickedness of bad men for the good of a large portion of the African race; and we suppose this to be preparatory to another great step in the history of their elevation.

If all this is true, where, then, lies our crime—the crime of enslaving them? says one. It lies in withholding knowledge from our pupil, and by legal enactments shutting him up in ignorance; it lies in our making a slave out of an apprentice, and keeping him beyond the time of release; it lies in our demoralizing policy, in regard to the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, which casts the morals of the Gospel of Christ to the winds; it lies in our trafficking in his flesh and blood, and bones, for filthy lucre, when we should have returned him to the land of his fathers. For the above crimes God will hold *the guilty* responsible, in the day of judgment.

ENGLAND'S EMANCIPATED SLAVES

are the next remove in the ascending scale. Her emancipated colonists are supposed by many to be better circumstanced than our free people of color; but this is a mistake which arises from an ig-

nerance of the structure of English society, which is divided into several unchanging classes or castes. The titled few, and gentlemen of noble families, constitute the first class; the professions and men of fortune come next; the merchants, manufacturers, and farmers next; and, last of all, the laborer, or poor white man, whose children seldom escape from the state of their father, but continue laborers from generation to generation. Under all these ranks, which are more carefully observed in English society than in any other nation of Saxon stock—we say, under all these ranks, which tower one above the other, lies the emancipated colonist, who, although apparently free, and having some advantages in common with poor white men, is still a social slave. He is but the serf of the English planter. He forms the substrata of English society, from the etiquette of which we pray to be delivered. From our knowledge of the structure of English society, we have been led to question the wisdom of sending colored men into Canada.

OUR FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR

are the most respectable class of Africans. They are much nearer the level of free and refined society than England's colored colonists, being but one remove from the level of republican society, while England's colonist is many removes. But notwithstanding that our free people of color are superior to all the classes before enumerated, they are a degraded people, and for their degradation *we are responsible*.

Let us consider their state. The free colored man of the United States has only the shadow of freedom; the substance is not his. He rests under a load of civil and social disabilities—the first created by positive law, the last caused by the prejudice with which an independent people regard a servile race. In most, if not all, the states the colored man has no part in making those laws by which he is governed, or in electing the magistrate who shall administer those laws. He is taxed to support the State, and that State hardly renders him protection from the violence of the rude and unprincipled. Again: he is forbidden the right of lodging his evidence in a court of justice, provided that testimony implicates a white man; and stringent laws forbid his forming an alliance with the families of the land. Thus positive enactments chain and bind him, while he is apparently free. But suppose we erase those laws from the statute book of our States—will that redeem the poor colored man? No; we would only have lopped off the branches of the evil that afflicts him. The trunk, in the form of hereditary prejudice against the colored race, would stand there, tall, vigorous, and unshaken. This is the great evil for which we should find a remedy.

THE REMEDY.—THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND ARE THE ALMONERS OF TRUTH AND THE PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY.

Having reviewed the almost complete and universal degradation of the African family, which is only relieved by a few small communities of colored men, who are independent and civilized, of which we will speak in another place; we will now inquire after a remedy for this degradation; and in doing so we shall seek for that one which will meet the greatest number of cases.

Let us begin with the many millions of native Africans. What will meet their wants, and redeem them from degradation? We know of but one way of elevating them; give them the Gospel of Christ, which carries in its train the institutions and blessings of civilized life. This will prove their salvation; for the power of God to the salvation of nations, as well as individuals.

But whose is the duty to send the Gospel to Africa? It is the duty of those Christian nations which are best prepared for the work; who, having moral power, correct theology, men and means, are thereby constituted the almoners of the word of life. But in which of the civilized nations can we find those elements of wholesome influence and power? Look over the map of the world, and you will find that the greater part of the Christian nations are disabled by some defect. They lack purity of faith, or are shackled by oppressive civil institutions, or are too poor in men or means to do much for the heathen world. But in the midst of those imbecile nations we find two nations towering up, possessing all those elements of influence, power, purity, and wealth, who, having borrowed the light of revelation, and received the imprint of the Gospel of Christ on all their civil institutions, are thereby qualified to be "the light of the world." These are England and the United States, and they are the hope of the world; on them rests the responsibility of giving the gospel to Africa.

England is conscious of the honorable place Providence has assigned her; therefore we find her foremost in all benvolent and world-saving enterprises. This consciousness of a great mission to the world gives an Englishman an elevated tone and bearing which is not very agreeable to people of other lands; but unpleasant as it is, it proclaims to the world the position of the Englishman, who seems to say thereby, "Come up to me; I cannot come down to you!" The statesmen of England are always ready to spend millions of money, and her philanthropists to sacrifice their lives in the cause of humanity and of God. And what is more remarkable, England does all this while cumbered with a load of feudal customs, which, were it not for the mighty volume of moral power that lies deeply imbedded in the heart of the nation, would shackle her energies, and make her as weak for good as her neighbors on the continent. Yet, with all her civil and ecclesiastical disabilities, she does

more for mankind than her more-favored coadjutor, the United States.

This republic is well qualified to be "the light of the world." Her civil institutions are unrivaled, and the European world is now feebly essaying to copy after them; her churches are pure and unfettered, and her wealth is great, and rapidly accumulating from year to year. We suppose that the United States has more wealth to devote to benevolence than England has. Britain's civil list is an expensive bill, and her poor at home and in her dependencies are a standing tax on her people. The government owes more than it will ever be able to pay. All things considered, we think the United States can render more of a surplus for benevolent enterprises than the mother country. However, be that as it may, it is enough for us to know that God has placed us in a position to be "the light of the world," and that when all the elements of influence are considered, it is our privilege to range even above England. This is no foolish boasting, but a calm consideration of our responsibility, which brings with it a number of consequences that our good and great men should consider.

We take it for granted that each church in this land should do something for the evangelization of Africa; that each church should have its band of missionaries at work in that great field; but we would suggest these missionaries should be colored men, if pious and well-qualified colored men can be procured for that work; for many parts of Africa are forbidden ground to the white man, where a residence for any length of time would prove fatal, while his colored brother can live, labor, and enjoy good health; observation having demonstrated that the longevity of an individual is governed somewhat by the texture, color, and general character of the skin. Be this true or false, many of our white missionaries have sickened and died, while their colored brethren yet live and are doing well.

The most effectual way of elevating the native African tribes is, to plant among them settlements of colored Christians, who shall take some of the children of the natives into their families and there instruct them; who shall teach the barbarian the arts of civilized life, but especially the way of salvation from sin. This is the plan which Buxton proposed to the English people; for this object the ill-fated "Niger Expedition" was projected by the British government, and to effect this desirable end the "African Civilization Society" was formed in England. But it has been the will of Providence that England's plans should fail, while the American people have succeeded in effecting the same object by similar plans, and at much less expense. May we not suppose that the necessities of our case was the cause of the difference?

A multiplication of such settlements as Liberia, composed of industrious, moral, and religious colonists, among whom teachers and ministers abound, are the very things that Africa require—each settlement becomes a great missionary of civilization, republicanism,

and Christianity; and so manifest has been the good produced by colonization that many of the colonists consider the formation of Christian settlements all-sufficient to meet the wants of the heathen; in evidence of which we subjoin part of an article published in the "Liberia Herald" last September. We find that the writer is opposed to isolated mission stations; denies the utility of such stations, and maintains that the colony is the proper school for civilization and Christianity.

"*Messrs. Editors,*—Sirs, I read with much attention the communication in your last number, (July,) from Rev. B. J. Drayton, Cape Palmas. The subject of introducing civilization and Christianity among the heathens, particularly those in the neighborhood of Liberia is a matter which I take a lively interest in; indeed, I hold it to be the bounden duty of our government to adopt every practicable expedient to bring the surrounding tribes, as speedily as possible, under the influences of Christianity and civilization. It is policy to do so. The interests of the State demand that it should be done, to say nothing of our duty as individuals, to foster every means within our reach for the enlightening of *our race*. Mr. Drayton seems to entertain similar views, and hence the recommendations he makes in his communication. He says, that 'the most ready way to accomplish the objects in consideration, is for the government to make roads into the interior, that the missionary and the merchant may travel side by side, &c. And that there will be security for the missionary and the merchant, because the Africans well know that they are under protection of government; &c.' I do not wish to say a word that will detract the least from Mr. D.'s views: his letter in general is worthy of being attentively perused, and it will advantage many, if the principles it contained are adhered to. Mr. Drayton is known to be a consistent minister of the Gospel, zealous for the conversion of his fellow-creatures to Christianity, and it is believed that he is truly sincere in all his propositions for that effect. I must, notwithstanding, decline falling in with his views; and so will every one, I think, who has given the matter mature consideration. At this time of day, it is preposterous to imagine that *missionaries*, (I allude to those persons who are employed by religious societies in the United States to teach and preach in Liberia,) are to be depended upon to effect this most important and desirable object. I say it is perfectly absurd to imagine such an idea, much more to believe it. Daily observations teach the people of Liberia that themselves do more in their families in furtherance of civilization and Christianization of the heathen, a hundred-fold more, than do the operations of all the different missionaries combined.

"I make no charges against the '*missionaries*'—among them I number some of my warmest friends—but I am a Liberian, and feel deeply interested in every thing that concerns it. It is our duty to watch every movement that is made for the advancement of our

country, and when conclusions are assumed and advocated, that will not bear fairly on subjects affecting the interests of the country, we ought to speak out. I take the liberty of doing so, in denying in plain terms that any material advantage is to be derived from missionaries in Liberia. The missionaries know this themselves. If any suppose I have erred in what I have said, I would suggest, that at once, without delay, the number of African children in the different families in Liberia be counted—those of them who can read, those who have learned some useful occupation, and those who have made a profession of religion. Let each class be added up separately, and then send some persons who are entirely disinterested, to the *mission stations* to make similar count, and every body will see that I make no exaggeration when I say that no material advantage is to be derived from the employment of persons as missionaries to the *Africans in Liberia*. And the money thus lavishly expended for their support is wasted. But this state of things can be altered—altered for great good in many respects—but I will not now enter into full particulars. I may do so hereafter. It is sufficient for the present, that a suggestion be made for the different missionary societies in the United States to place into the hands of the government of Liberia the money they expend annually in Liberia for missionary purposes, with the understanding that the government will employ it for the civilization of the aboriginals of the country. It cannot be doubted that the government have greater interests at stake in wishing the civilization and Christianization of the Africans, than the missionary societies can possibly have. As Liberia marches onward, so ought her sons; if they are permitted to live on in their untutored state, the country will not, cannot advance with that strength which it should. In fact the Executive of Liberia and its Legislature will be much more adequate to form plans for successfully bringing the heathen under the folds of Christianity than any body or institution can be.

“ALPHA.”

We have italicised the words “missions stations,” and “Africans in Liberia,” which give us a key to the object of the writer. He is not anti-missionary or anti-christian; but he is an anti-station man, or a colonization man run wild, that is all. His error is, he forgets that our missionaries in the colonies constitute the moral and saving power of the settlements. Strike our missionaries out of existence, and the colony will soon lose its influence for good; but keep the missionaries there, and let them work as ministers of Christ, and the colony must burn all over with a holy, saving influence, and each family within the pastoral charge of the missionary will be a Christian school for the heathen child or servant.

For the redemption of Africa an extensive system of colonization should be devised by the good men of this nation—a colonization of

colored Christian men and their ministers and school teachers, and the moving spring of the whole system should be philanthropy.

COLONIZATION A PROVIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT—ITS ORIGIN—BRIEF HISTORY OF LIBERIA—LIBERIA MUST EXPAND—IT IS WRONG TO OPPOSE HER GROWTH—SHE WILL GIVE CHARACTER TO THE COLORED RACE.

African colonization is an arrangement of Divine Providence, whereby the instruments and elements of civilization and evangelization may be transplanted from this country to Africa, where they are destined to expand and redeem that continent. All the circumstances connected with its history show that "it is of God."

It was originated by benevolent men for the relief of the oppressed, far from being the creature of sinister designs. African colonization originated in the minds of true philanthropists; and the American people merit not the *supposed odium* of originating this great movement, for its authors were not Americans, but were Englishmen. The great leaders of the antislavery or abolition party of Great Britain were its projectors, and the occasion that called out this exercise of their *wisdom and benevolence* was the following:

A large number of slaves having run away from their masters during the Revolution, joined the British army, and, on the conclusion of the war, fifteen hundred of them were taken to London, and about ten hundred of them were sent to Nova Scotia.

"Those taken to England had been there but a short time, before it was discovered, such was the repugnance in a white community to receiving into its bosom a race as distinct as that of the African, and give them equality in all respects, that it was wholly impracticable to attempt it; and to exclude them was to degrade them, and render their condition miserable. Under this state of things, Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and others, conceived the plan of colonizing the *whole number* on the western coast of Africa. This was the origin of the colony of Sierra Leone."—To this place, also, those sent to Nova Scotia were brought, and in this settlement the negroes that have been retaken by the British cruisers have been placed. So we find that good men, nay, orthodox, antislavery men were the fathers of the whole scheme.

Like causes will produce like effects. Good men in the United States were touched with pity when they considered the state of the free colored people of this land, who, being rejected by white society, must remain a distinct, subordinate race as long as they remain with us. And these men, being desirous to save them from degradation, followed the example of the English, and planted the colony of Liberia, in the year 1820, some thirty-two years after the foundation of Sierra Leone. The following is a

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BRIEF HISTORY OF LIBERIA.

In the year 1820, the American Colonization Society sent out to Africa eighty-eight emigrants, under the care of Rev. S. Bascom, principal agent of the United States, and Dr. S. A. Crozier, agent of the American Colonization Society. The ship *Elizabeth*, in which they sailed, was chartered by the General government.


This was the first expedition of the American Colonization Society, and it proved a very unfortunate one; for Sherbro Island, contiguous to *Sierre Leone*, was the place selected for the first settlement of the American colored people. This place proved very unhealthy, because of the low, marshy ground and bad water. All the agents died here, and about seventy of the emigrants.

In 1821 this settlement was abandoned, and all the emigrants removed to *Sierre Leone* till a more eligible site than Sherbro could be selected.

In the latter part of this year, Capt. Stockton, with the United States schooner *Alligator*, was ordered to the coast of Africa to aid Dr. Ayres, one of the new agents, in the work of locating the colony. These gentlemen selected a point on the coast, two hundred and fifty miles south-east of *Sierre Leone*, including Cape *Monteserado*. On this cape the first successful settlement was made, in 1822. In the midst of some opposition from the savage natives, the town of *Monrovia* was founded on the very place where a large slave factory had been located, and from which point thousands of slaves had been shipped. The progress of this settlement has been steadily onward, so that *Liberia* now extends along the coast about seven hundred miles long, by fifty broad, including over one hundred thousand inhabitants. Surely, we do not claim too much for *Liberia* when we say she is a child of Providence. Could we, in our brief sketch, specify the many instances of Divine favor and protection that have been shown her, we could establish our point beyond a doubt. Suffice it to say, ministers of Christ aided in planting the foundations—ministers have been the chief builders in rearing the superstructure. They have watched over her with much anxiety. She has been the subject of many prayers; and while the storm of opposition from good men and bad men—from the civilized and the savage—from men-redeemers and men-stealers, threatened her very existence, God spread his shield over her, and, when the calm returned, and the clouds passed away, *Liberia* is found erect, a Christian state that commands the esteem of all mankind, and is worthy of an honorable place in the list of nations, to which place England and France have welcomed her, and we hope the United States will soon extend the same favor.

LIBERIA MUST EXPAND.

The young republic possesses all the elements of expansion, that have made the mother country the wonder of the world. Differing



but in race, she possesses the religion of the Puritans, and holds the sacred deposit with jealous care. Her language and her literature are derived from this land. Already her agricultural and commercial enterprise are making her a name in the commercial world. Ere long the mountains of Africa must yield up their iron, copper, and golden ore to the enterprise of the Anglicized African.

Her population must increase with progressive force, for by accessions of emigrants from the United States, and additions from the surrounding nations, her growth will soon rival our own; and with her territorial extension will extend the saving, moral influence of her institutions, which are more in harmony with the spirit of the Gospel than are our own; for the organic laws of the republic require the government to make provision for the civilization of the heathen around them. We fear not to say, that if Liberia was weighed in moral scales, her moral worth would give her a title to the first place among the nations.

The man who opposes the growth of Liberia, either directly or indirectly, is no friend to his race—is no friend to Africa; nay, he opposes the extension of Christ's kingdom, and is no friend to Christ. The man who would retard the emigration of colored men to Africa, assumes a grave responsibility, and, we think, fights against divine Providence. And, indeed, there are but few men to be found who will have nerve enough to attack the young republic, or longer call it "the charnel-house," "the American golgotha," etc. For the friends of the African, in looking around for some collection of colored men, whose position and character can confer respectability on the race, look in vain for such a collection till they come to Liberia; and policy compels them to respect her, that, through her, the race may be made respectable, for "few are the bright spots" on the field of Africa's degradation; and if we strike out this central sun of Africa's horizon, feeble will be the light emitted by Canadian colonies, Haytian republics, or Dominican empires; again would the skeptic cherish a doubt as to the ability of the negro to govern himself, and again would the slaveholder congratulate himself that the sons of Ham were made to be his servants, and that he is their master by divine right. But let Liberia stand, and she will make character for herself, and for the African race; she will be the true advocate of Africa's rights, and in good time the avenger of Africa's wrongs.

It is the duty of all those pious colored men, who are now suffering from the effects of prejudice, to emigrate to Liberia: there they will be free, and there they will be instrumental in doing much good: and it is the duty of the benevolent American to see that they do not go empty away, but to aid them in this peaceful and righteous course. Indeed, the work of colonization should be made a measure of national policy, and then we could pour such a flood of well-educated and religious colored people into Africa, as would lighten

the whole; and thus the continent could be redeemed from its degradation.

THE EXTENT OF AFRICAN SLAVERY—THE REMEDY.

The following is the most comprehensive view of African slavery that we have seen. It is taken from the "Tenth Annual Report of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," and the statements may be relied on as true.

By the last census of the United States, taken in 1840, the number of slaves in the southern States was 2,187,455; if we add the probable increase, computed according to the ratio of the preceding ten years, the present number of slaves in the thirteen slave States will be about 3,045,000; but, since that period, Texas has been annexed to the United States, the number of whose slaves may now be computed at 50,000; the grand total of slaves in the United States will, therefore, be 3,095,000. According to Balbi, the number of slaves in Brazil, many years since, was 2,926,500. Notwithstanding the great mortality which marks the slave system of that country, and the manumissions which have taken place, the vast number of fresh Africans which have since been imported, must have increased the total number of slaves considerably. We, therefore, compute the number at present in Brazil to be 3,250,000. The number of slaves in the Spanish colonies is variously estimated. Mr. Crawford, the British Consul in Cuba, states it to have been, in 1841, between 800,000 and 900,000. The British Consul at Porto Rico says the number of slaves in that island, in 1838, was 44,000; allowing for the additions which may have been made since these periods, by importations from Africa, we may put down the slave population of the Spanish colonies at 900,000. The total number of slaves in the Dutch West Indies, according to the last census, was 9,569; in Surinam, 52,997; at Batavia, Samarang, and Sourabaya, 80,000—making a total of 92,566; but, as there has been a considerable mortality among the slaves in Surinam, since 1844, perhaps the entire number in the Dutch colonies and dependencies may be reckoned at about 85,000. From the best information that can be obtained, it appears that the number of slaves in New Granada, including Panama, was, in 1835, 40,137; in Venezuela, in 1837, 37,689; in Equador, 1843, 4,960; in Peru, 1845, 20,000. From Bolivia, Chili, and the Argentine republic, no returns have been obtained; but the slave populations of these republics may be estimated at about 40,000. It should be remarked, however, that all the South American republics have made provision in their laws for the gradual extinction of slavery; and that Uruguay, one of them, com-

* According to the late census the number in this country is 8,198,894, and we suppose the increase in other countries to be as great; this would make the total about 7,900,000.

pletely abolished it in the year 1849. The number of slaves in the Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish settlements on the western coast of Africa, is computed at 30,000; of these, nine-tenths at least are held by the Portuguese. The latter nation has, in addition, possessions on the eastern coast of Africa, and in Asia, but the number of slaves in them is unknown. Making allowance for manumissions which may have taken place in the South American republics, the following recapitulation may be taken as a correct estimate of the number of slaves in the several countries named, viz:

United States	3,095,000
Brazil	3,250,000
Spanish colonies	900,000
Dutch colonies	85,000
South American republics	140,000
African settlements	30,000
Total	<u>7,500,000</u>

This is an awful and humiliating picture; seven millions and a half of the sons of Africa held in bondage by nations nominally Christians! Without hesitancy we say that the remedy for their degradation is *education* and *emancipation*. Education should precede emancipation, if possible; but where this cannot be secured, liberty is the right of man, civilized or savage, educated or uneducated; and no man has the right to deprive his fellow of liberty on the ground of his ignorance.

But, however much we may desire to apply the remedy suggested to foreign lands cherishing slavery, we cannot do it, for they are beyond our control; however we may do something to embarrass them, and reduce the value of the institution of slavery by patronizing the productions of free labor, to the neglect of the productions of slave labor; for, so long as we continue to buy the productions of the southern plantations, the sugar, the coffee, &c., so long will South America and the West India islands cherish African Slavery.

But you say, Where shall we find an adequate supply of those luxuries, or rather necessities of life; for the people will continue to use sugar, coffee, &c.? The answer is at hand. Africa can be made to produce, within the next thirty years, more coffee, sugar, &c., than the civilized world can consume. Africa has within her limits more coffee, sugar, and cotton lands than any other continent; and she has got one hundred millions docile and teachable negroes, who, under the control of intelligent leaders, can produce those articles in such quantities as will flood the markets of the world.

To make this evident, I will make a few statements in relation to the single article of coffee. A friend gave us a small quantity of Liberian coffee recently; it is a large, firm, white berry, said to be as good as the Java coffee, and commanding as good a price where

it is known. The Liberians raise it with very little labor; it is indigenous to that country; the plants are found in the forests; these are taken and planted in orchards, at the rate of five hundred trees to the acre. These trees will bear the third year after planting, at the rate of twelve pounds of coffee to the tree, or six thousand pounds to the acre. In 1846, the United States consumed 124,336,054 pounds of coffee; the British empire and France we will suppose consumed twice as much. The quantity consumed annually by those nations may be set down at 350,000,000 pounds, which is a very large estimate; and nearly all that coffee is produced by slaves. The above quantity of coffee can be produced on about sixty thousand acres of Liberian coffee lands. Now, suppose that twenty thousand free people of color emigrate to that republic, and open farms, and plant three acres each in coffee trees, for the foreign market, this will give us a breadth of sixty thousand acres, the quantity necessary to supply the civilized world with coffee superior in quality to any now produced by the slave. Then we could strike a death-blow to slavery in all lands where coffee is produced by slave labor.

But to carry out this measure effectually, we require a line of transports to ply between this country and Liberia, and then we require the above number of volunteers from among our three hundred thousand free people of color. The first it is likely we shall secure. It remains for the free colored people to say whether we can secure the latter. All depends on their action. In one year the transports could place more men on the coast than would be necessary to form the requisite plantations, and in three years over sixty thousand families, averaging three to the family, can be placed on the coast, and in less than five years the plantations could actually be opened, and producing their three or four hundred million pounds of coffee, by which slavery in South America and the West Indies can be abolished, or broken down. Sugar will be the next article that will claim the attention of the Liberians; but as mills, &c., are required, it will be some time before they can command capital enough to erect the necessary machinery. The cotton will be the third in order of production, because the best cotton lands are inland, on the banks and bottoms of the Niger and its tributaries, and the tide of emigration will roll slowly to the great valley of that river. However, if the present efforts of England to press the natives to the cultivation of cotton are successful, this article may be brought into the market much sooner than we now suppose. We will conclude this chapter by saying, that *we see in a national system of colonization* the means of indirectly undermining the foundations of slavery in foreign lands; and a hundred reasons conspire to prompt the good and great men of this nation to adopt it; and a thousand reasons combine to prompt the enterprising colored man to go to Africa. Let all the friends of liberty "carry the war into Africa," and the victory will soon be won.

**THE EXTENT OF OUR DOMESTIC SLAVERY—A CONFLICT OF RACES TO
BE APPREHENDED: THE REMEDY NATIONAL COLONIZATION.**

Domestic slavery binds over three million negroes in bonds, and robs them of all the rights of men, reducing them to the state and liabilities of chattels. This is a dark blot on the character of the American people, and made the more odious by the high claims we set up as a republic; for we profess to teach the world the lessons of liberty and equality, and are the great exemplar of the power of man to govern himself. No people censure the aristocrats of Europe more than the American people, and yet we cherish in our midst a system of oppression so dark in its character that it casts the cruel institutions of the old world into the shade. In most of the nations of the old world, the serfs and peasantry have been emancipated, and are no longer articles of merchandise—they are men, not chattels; while, in the republic of the United States, the African is bought and sold as the horse is bought and sold, and in the moral government of slaves there is almost as little respect paid to them as to cattle, for all the sacred relations of life are disregarded by the slave-dealer.

But the worst of the case is, men calling themselves republicans and Christians, can be found who will defend this institution, and apologize for it. God forbid that we should be of that number; but we rejoice that it is our privilege to bear testimony against "the sum of all villainies"—"the buying and selling men, women and children with an intention to enslave them;" and we unhesitatingly say that the Christian who buys or sells a human being with an intention to enslave, commits a sin of so grave a nature that he will lose the grace of God, and never regain it till he repents and makes becoming restitution; and having thus unfitted himself for the kingdom of grace or glory, his right to Church fellowship may be questioned.

In short, we deny the chattel claim of the slavetrader to his slaves; he has derived no right to sell man, from that Being who is the source of all our rights, and the avenger of all our wrongs. In saying this we speak understandingly, and we rejoice to find that the good men of the south are opening their eyes to the unholy character of such a traffic, and they now look upon the slave-trader, or seller, as a monster who is unfit for good society. To this we say amen, and pray the Lord that the time may soon come when a well-directed public opinion will break down the "American slave-trade;" for between the "African slave-trade" and the "American slave-trade," we think the African the most excusable, and doubtless it does more good to the colored race. For if the good that arises from this traffic is to be made the measure of its merits, we can prove that that abominable business—the trade in slaves from Africa—which has called forth the execrations of the civilized world, and cost the nations hundreds of millions to suppress it, is now more excusable and tolerable than the buying and selling civilized men,

women and children, with the intention to enslave them. The sooner a corrected public opinion is poured upon it the better.

But justice requires that we distinguish between the man who will sell or buy a slave, and the true southern gentlemen who, while he hates the "American slave-trader," holds slaves, they being part of the estate he received by inheritance. It is the case of this man that most perplexes the moralist, and calls out the sympathy of the northern people. What shall such a man do with his slaves? what does God require at his hands? We think that God requires that the chattel claim to his slaves be surrendered and abandoned forever; and that, like John Randolph, he consider his slaves inalienable, but regard them as apprentices, the younger to be educated and emancipated at the age of twenty-one, and all over that age, and under the age of forty-five, to be set free at once, retaining none as bondmen but those whose age and infirmities unfit for the work of providing for themselves, and for whose support the estate on which they have expended the labor and energy of youth should stand pledged. Let these doctrines obtain in the south, and emancipation will follow in good time, and in less than fifty years slavery will be but a name; its horrors shall have passed away.

But there is a fixed purpose among southern men, that the emancipated shall not be permitted to remain among them; and the reason they assign for this resolve is the danger arising from a conflict of races; and indeed there is much to fear from difference of race in the south; but we propose the remedy of continental or African colonization; that is, the establishment of a colored nation on this continent, or in Africa, to which all the emancipated may be sent, as well for the good of the colored man as for the safety of the nation. The location of the colony being selected, and the groundwork of the enterprise laid down, the slave states should be so organized, that in each county thereof there should be an officer, whose duty it would be to receive all the slaves offered for emancipation and transportation, and having received them convey them or have them conveyed to the commonwealth prepared for their reception, where they should be furnished with a piece of land, if they desire a country life, or a lot in town if they desire to reside in town. But as the Providential indications are more in favor of African than continental colonization, we hope that all good and reasonable men will unite on the former.

SEPARATION OF THE RACES JUST AND POLITIC

We will introduce the second argument by stating a few clear points as the foundation of our reasoning on this subject.

"All men are created free and equal." A separate and independent subsistence for the great families or races of men, is clearly marked out by the Divine ruler.

Society is an ordinance of Heaven, having for its object the happiness, prosperity and peace of its members.

Governments are designed to guard the peace, prosperity and happiness of society, and to remove all political evils.

A homogeneous population is necessary to the existence of a sound republic.

Slaves and peasants, deprived of the right of citizenship, and suffering social degradation, are incompatible with the genius of republicanism.

The United States of North America should be a pure republic.

A family, and that collection of families which constitutes a republic, have the right beyond all organic law to say who shall, or who shall not be received into their bosom and made members of their society.

The American people, in the exercise of this right, admitted the white race and rejected the black.

There is no salvation for another race that comes in conflict with the Anglo-Saxon race, but in fusion with it. All others that conflict with it will be borne down by it.

The colored population of this country cannot be other than a *class of peasants*, if excluded from white society.

Where men are truly religious and moral, the white and black races of the United States do not mix—so the influence of religion will never effect a fusion, or destroy the right of choice in the parties.

No two races, kept distinct by the refusal of the stronger race to fuse with the weaker, can dwell together in the same country on terms of social equality.

A heterogeneous population, that will not amalgamate, sooner or later becomes a turbulent, restless and revolutionary population.

The separation of the races, and the erection of the colored race into an independent and separate commonwealth are the true and only remedies for the disabilities of the colored race.

Unfortunately for the United States, we have the elements of much national disturbance and social immorality among us, in the form of two incompatible races, whose interests must forever clash so long as they remain distinct races, and there is no likelihood that their present relation will change, or that they will become blended into one people.

However, the great mass of the colored race in this land are held as slaves, and with this relation of master and slave, the inhabitants of free states are pledged not to interfere—and we should sacredly observe our pledges—but whilst man thus sacredly keeps his promises to his fellow man, what may not Providence do with this institution. In the coming age of revolutions that must sweep over our globe with terrific and renovating power, it will be impossible for our country to escape the lightning's flash and thunder's stroke, with such a colossal attraction and conductor as the institution of American slavery in our midst, which rears its head amongst the gathering clouds that portend the coming storm. Oh, no! slavery will be modified by a series of providences before many years, and it is likely that tens of thousands will be emancipated; and in the course of a few ages all will be set free. But this act of emancipation, when consummated, will leave that large mass of our fellow-beings in a state of serfdom or social slavery. For white society will refuse to receive them into its bosom, or in other words, the white race will not amalgamate with the blacks. Therefore, the stronger must be the rulers still, and the weaker the servile ones.

A heterogeneous population, that *will not* amalgamate, sooner or later becomes a turbulent population, and civil war and bloodshed follow as a matter of course. This has been the past history of those nations which are cursed with a difference of race, and what has been true of other countries will be true of the United States, unless we apply a remedy to the evil that afflicts us.

With the opponents of the remedy of separation, we agree that "all men are created free and equal;" but we cannot believe that it follows, as a consequence, that all men should inhabit the same state or territory, or dwell in the same city. But, on the contrary, we believe it to be in keeping with sound policy, and the morality of a peaceful religion which we profess as a nation, to apply the remedy of separation to conflicting families or races of men, whose interests are constantly clashing, and who cannot be reduced to a state of

social equality. Such we believe to be the state of the white and colored races of the United States.

Separation is a compromise for the sake of peace; to avoid the divisions of society into political factions, of which color would be the line; to enable the colored man to enjoy uninterruptedly all the rights of a freeman and exercise the franchise of such a freeman. Is not such a compromise right, if it can be effected? Is it not justified by the spirit of Christianity? We think it right and just, and give as an illustration of this compromise the case of Abraham and Lot, who were the controllers of large households, and became the fathers of nations. On one occasion, their families, or rather their retainers and servants, quarreled about the right to the soil or domain; and these two good men found it necessary to settle this quarrel by a compromise, and the result was, they separated their families and became the occupants of distant and different lands.

Nor will it do to put off the application of this remedy too long, for already the spirit of strife, from this very question of a difference of race, has commenced his cruel work of disorganization. Like a demon of great malignity he has entered the ecclesiastical and civil councils of the land, and sowed the seeds of strife there, and that seed is rapidly ripening, and has produced strife and disunion in many cases. Religious men who were bound by the *strongest bonds* have been rent asunder, and arrayed against each other in a hostile attitude, and are now at war with such weapons as they dare to use. Whilst the statesmen of the land, and the great political bodies, are now surveying the field of future conflict; calculating their strength; choosing their positions; and preparing for a war of more than words, and although a friend to the "compromise," yet we fear that the elements of trouble are not removed, nay we know they are not removed—for as yet no practical remedy has been applied to slavery the great root of the evil.

Nor will it do to say that the mere abolition of slavery will remove the evil—indeed it leaves the evil complained of untouched—for two distinct races will remain in the land to curse the country with their strife for social pre-eminence; and just in proportion as the light which has been withheld too long from the colored population is poured in upon them, in the same proportion will their demand for social equality become bold and threatening, until considering forbearance no longer a virtue, they will make their demand at the point of the sword. Soldiers may laugh at such a prospect, and glory in such sport as crushing the colored armies might afford. But men of peace, love not such things and deprecate such times although afar off.

There are but two remedies for the evil, a *fusion* of the races, or a *total separation*. The application of the first remedy always depends on the choice of the stronger race. And the exercise of the choice for or against involves no moral quality, so that a refusal on the part of the white race to blend with the black *can not* be considered a

sis. And so long as the right of choice remains to man and is untouched by law, human or divine, so long white men who are honorable and virtuous and fear God and regard his law, will choose white company to the rejection of black. Nor is this criminal in them. Nor can you compel the American people to act otherwise unless you can show a clear law that will coerce to fusion.

Hence those who are resting their hopes on the future influence of the gospel, are cherishing a false hope. For the influence of the gospel is to make morals pure. And whenever *morals are pure* then the races never fuse, but the line between them is well defined. The white man being a dignified and upright *superior*, and the colored man being a moral and respectable inferior. Nor can the colored race escape from this inferiority in society, nor can those of us who would save him from it do so as long as he remains in contact with white men. The poor colored man is like the sickly tree that stands in the grove, he is overshadowed by a stronger race that shoots up to the heavens and spreads its branches to the light—casting a destructive shade on all below—a transplantation is the only salvation in either case.

The enthusiast may preach a different doctrine, and tell us that he makes no difference on account of color—he tells us that which is false, his actions and the company he keeps contradict his words, the companions of his children and associations of his domestic circle are standing witnesses against him. Compel him to choose between two young men of equal moral worth, equal talents and equality of wealth, but differing in color, one being white and the other black—compel him to choose one of the two for a kinsman, and his choice will fall on the white man, and because of color even he will make a difference.

So, unless we *choose*, the colored man cannot become our social equal. But the American people *do not choose* to make him a social equal, and there is no law that can compel them to do this. The consequence is the poor colored man must stand far below par because of his color, and from this disability he can never escape, he carries it with him wherever he goes, and colored men are compelled to take a secondary place in society and remain in a lower grade, which classification of citizens in grades is incompatible with the genius of this republic and will sap the foundation of democracy.

This being the unpleasant state of things in the United States, a peaceful separation of the races should be devised and carried out as soon as possible, for the good of both; and upon this separation an independent commonwealth of colored people should be formed in which the colored race might be free from our dictation and control.

Many of the most intelligent and independent colored men of the Northern States are now convinced that a peaceful separation of the races is the most religious way of disposing of this vexed question. Hence we find them advocating continental colonisation, or

the erection of an independent commonwealth of colored men on this continent. Others of them who are not religious, are actuated by, another passion, that of a desire to rule; hence they wish to escape from the society of white men, where they must be subordinate, that they may become leaders themselves. And none but the wilful and wicked stubbornly contend for the right of fusing with the white race, and thus securing social equality in this land.

And now that the colored people are beginning to move in this work it is the duty of the white race to help them to a separate home. We owe this to them, and we owe it to our peace in the future.

It is clear to the calm observer that the colored race of North America have been in a state of pupilage amongst us, and our great crime is not the work of holding the colored man in bonds as an apprentice or a scholar, but we have held him as a slave, and *withheld* the instruction which he should have received—this has been the crime of the South. However, the effect of the connection which the colored man has had with the white race, has been to school him, and bring him forward to a state of intellectual maturity. And now that the days of his majority have arrived, and as a young man who has come of age is provided with a home by his guardian, so the colored race, which now shows many signs of ability to take care of itself, should be provided with a suitable home by the older guardian race. Nor should the colored race think the work of removal from the old homestead of the white race a hard thing, for it is nothing more than justice and righteousness require.

We have no sympathy for that class that can curse the colored man in their hearts, and then for political purposes cry down the inhumanity of the separationists; and we have very little with those superficial philanthropists who would retain the colored man in this land, that he may be used as a servant. We would give him all the rights of man—but this the abolitionists will not, cannot do, in evidence of which read the following extract from "Jay's Inquiry."

"One of the designs falsely imputed to them, (the abolitionists,) is that of bringing about an amalgamation of colors by intermarriages. In vain have they again and again denied any such design; in vain have their writings been searched for any recommendation of such amalgamation. No abolitionist is known to have married a negro, or to have given his child to a negro; yet has the charge of amalgamation been repeated and re-repeated, until many no doubt honestly believe it.

"No one, in the possession of his reasoning faculties, can believe it to be the duty of white men to select black wives; and the abolitionists have given every proof the nature of the case will admit, that they countenance no such absurdity. It has been found expedient to accuse it of aiming at social equality. He must be deeply imbued with fanaticism, or rather insanity, who contends that because a man has a dark skin he is therefore entitled to a reception

in our families and a place at our tables. We all know white men whose characters and habits render them repulsive to us, and whom no consideration would induce us to admit into our social circles, and can it be believed that abolitionists are willing to extend to the, negroes, merely on account of their color, courtesies and indulgences which in innumerable instances they withhold, and properly withhold, from their white fellow-citizens."

Here is the *prejudice* well stated and well *defended*, by a champion of the abolition cause; to meet and obviate which the separation of the races was devised by the colonization society.

The free man of color can never be a man so long as he remains amongst white men, they will permit him to be a servant or vassal, *but no more*. About this kind of philanthropy there is a spice of selfishness that reminds us of some fine plantations in our State, owned by *very benevolent men*, but cultivated by half starved free negroes.

But before we dismiss this point we will say a word to the man of color into whose hands this may fall: sir, you cannot change the state of things that now exists, without a revolution, you will therefore act unwisely to rear up a family in Indiana to be menials, when you can secure for them the lot and rights of freemen by removal. But if designs of ulterior revolution prompt you to remain in this State, with such designs good men can have no sympathy. Your duty is to meet this difficulty in the spirit of peaceful compromise, and demand a removal which our wise and benevolent statesmen will grant, not in an unkind spirit, but in the spirit that actuated the ancient patriarchs Abraham and Lot.

It is time the free people of color were constituted an independent commonwealth, for they have advanced so far in the work of improvement that they are fully able to conduct the State machinery of a nation.

If it were possible to erect a respectable and truly independent commonwealth of colored men on this continent, we should do so without delay. But we fear the thing is impracticable at this time, and we fear that the future will not be more favorable, because the grasping disposition of the Anglo Saxon race claims the whole North American continent as the field of its future enterprise and expansion. Nor will the jealous and haughty South tolerate the erection of a commonwealth of colored men on American soil. It is with sorrow that we express our conviction that there is no rest for the independent colored man on this wide continent. The Mexican and Indian are more warlike than he, and yet they have not been able to maintain their independence, or to preserve their lands from violation; and it would require a standing army of many thousand men to protect the border of a colored nation. And again, it would ever be a sickly plant in the shade of our gigantic Anglo-Saxon Republic. It is doubtful whether it could maintain its independence as

a sovereign nation. In short, it must forever be a contemptible thing in contrast with the United States.

Again, the fact that Divine Providence needs the colored people of this land elsewhere, and requires not a colored nation on this continent for the purpose of carrying out His plans, is evidence sufficient that a colored commonwealth will not succeed in this land.

For, although statesmen may plan, and fanatics may rave, yet God reigns and will rule and overrule all things to this end—the conversion of the world to the religion of Christ, and the overthrow of kings, thrones, and nobles, to the establishment of a pure christian republicanism, in which men shall be governed by principles and not by power, in which they shall acknowledge no king but God, and no creed but His law.

So far as the renovation of this country is concerned, the Anglo-Saxon race can effect the work without the aid of other races.

But it is not so with Africa, for it is forbidden ground to our race, else its wealth would have attracted us long ago, for Africa has long been noted for its wealth; its mountains abound with gold, and its productions are of the most valuable character. But God has reserved that land for the colored man, and the finger of Providence points to its shores as the future home of our American colored men.

God requires our schooled, converted, and enlightened colored men, that they may scatter the leaven of christianity and republicanism amongst a population of over one hundred million souls; and already has the work been begun, a few thousand noble-souled and independent colored men have taken their lives in their hands and gone forth on their mission, and under the fostering care of their Divine Guide, they have been instrumental in planting the foundation of a christian commonwealth on the continent of Africa, which now looms up from the dark horizon of that benighted land as a bright star of promise to the sons of Africa, and which is destined to be their polar guide through all their future struggles and stormy conflicts.

And such will be the attractive power of the young republic of Liberia, that in a very few years its enemies will not be able to turn the growing stream of emigration away from it—but it will swell and spread until it has embraced the whole colored population of our land within its influence.

An African commonwealth is no longer a theory, but it is a fact. There stands Liberia! the glory of all her friends, and the standing rebuke of all her slanderers.

We must admire the wisdom of that Providence which spread a cloud over African colonization, and enshrouded the young colony in doubts for a few years. But now, that God has taken away the veil, we can see the reason of this strange providence. For we discover that the handful of pioneers stationed on the coast of Africa were learning how to act and govern. God was teaching them

the difficult lesson of self-dependence and self-government. And looking back over their history, we can see each successive step in this noble work, until at last they stand forth before the world graduated republicans, who have acquired such self-confidence that they can now receive thousands of raw emigrants, and guide them safely in the same difficult work of self-dependence, self government. The foundation of their nation being settled, and their institutions being planted, they are ready to co-operate with the friends of the African in this land in the great work of separating the races.

The work of transporting the colored people of this land to a distant home can be effected, provided both races are agreed on the subject. And the western coast of Africa is the most convenient point that can be reached. A few lines of transports plying regularly between the above point and this country would make the removal easy and pleasant—much more pleasant and agreeable than a trip to California, and not attended with as much *labor, danger or expense*. The sum of \$60 will carry a man from this land to Liberia, and furnish him with six months' provisions. The above sum will hardly buy the Californian mover a good horse. As to the labor and danger of the two trips, the balance is largely in favor of Liberia, for the constitution will suffer more wear and tear by two-fold in a California expedition than it will in a Liberian expedition, and it cannot be doubted that twice as many die in going to California as die amongst the Liberian emigrants.

Much has been said about the impossibility of carrying off all the colored people of our land. We would to God that the day of their exodus had come, it would then be seen whether the American people have energy to effect the work. We know they can do it if they will; and that man pays but a poor compliment to the character of his race that doubts its ability on this point. The colored people of this land are not four millions in numbers, and yet four millions, if free and at the disposal of the friends of colonization, could be transported to Liberia for a sum equal to that paid out for the Mexican war, which we suppose to be one hundred million dollars, and yet this sum has been paid, or nearly so, without our being *sensibly* the poorer, few men being able to tell when, where, or how they paid their part of that bill. And if we are not mistaken, the American people are ready to vote any sum to effect a peaceful separation of the races, and will rejoice in the opportunity.

If the people will demand of the general government *that the Atlantic be bridged* with a few lines of transports, tens of thousands of free colored men will pour across to their new home. And the Slave States, ashamed of their folly and oppression, will surrender their slaves into the hands of government agents, who shall set them free on the coast of Africa, and thus for a few millions of dollars, this land may be saved from the scourge of civil war, and millions of our fellow men restored to all the rights of men. We trust that God will move upon our statesmen to consider this momentous

subject, and upon the free colored people of our land to inquire what is their duty in this case!

In the meantime, whilst waiting for the national exodus of the sons of Africa, a separation of interests and institutions tends most to the *peace and morality* of the races. Of this, the more intelligent colored persons are convinced; hence, we find them advocating separate schools, separate churches, separate neighborhoods, and; in short, separate society; and, although they seem blind to the manifest tendency of this movement, yet it is carrying them on with irresistible power to the sure destiny of the reasonable and conservative portion of the colored race, which we fondly hope and believe will be a *separate national existence*—and which we hope will save them from the horrors of the lot that awaits those of the race who are bent on revolution.

Having premised those points, we will notice in a respectful manner, some of the objections urged against the doctrine of separation; and the most comprehensive list of objections that we have ever seen, was published in one of our journals during the session of the late Constitutional Convention, by an anonymous writer. As we have a great respect for the "Higher Law" and its Giver, we will give the objectors of that school a candid hearing, and therefore quote the objections in full. It is immaterial to us who the author of these objections is: they are the cavilings of our opponents, and they furnish us a hold by which to grapple with them.

- "1. The Earth, the whole Earth, is God's footstool.
- "2. It was created to be inhabited by all his creatures—to sustain them, while in life, upon its bosom—to receive them, in death, beneath its surface.
- "3. Surrounding this globe is an atmosphere, created for the purposes of life, and necessary to its continuance.
- "4. The inhabitants of each particular section of the Earth are but God's stewards. They occupy only at his sufferance—they breathe the air necessary for their life only at his will.
- "5. Each nation has its particular customs and laws. So far as they do not conflict with His "High Law," they have the right to prescribe rules and regulations for the government of those who seek residence amongst them.
- "6. They may provide that certain classes shall not enjoy the right of citizenship—that they shall not have the benefit of Poor Laws—that they shall be taxed, &c.
- "7. But they have no right, by *Divine law*, to prohibit any Human being, whom God has seen fit to create of a different color, from *barely living* upon that portion of the Earth which they have themselves, or *breathing* of that atmosphere which happens to hang over their nation or State, a sufficient quantity for his existence.
- "8. They *could* have no such right, except by express Divine Command—for the Earth is (not man's but) the Lord's and the fullness thereof.

All human beings whom he saw fit in his wisdom to

create, He intends, whatever man may think, shall breathe and live upon that earth.

"9. Most undeniably would they have no such right, judged by the law of Humanity alone, until, at least a congenial portion of the Earth was set apart for them, and *every means and expense fully provided* for their transportation thereto.

"10. Even then it would be doubtful, whether either by the Higher or Lower Law, any nation would be justified in forcibly driving to it from their midst, human beings who had previously, with equal force, been dragged within its bounds."

With the first five of those propositions, we cordially agree, although we consider some of them rather *atmospheric*.

The sixth proposition is a peculiar one, being quite accommodating in its structure, for there is an *et cetera* at the end of it, on which, we suppose, the objector designed hanging as many negro disabilities as *may be considered politic*. He maintains that States, in their transition or organizing process, "may provide that certain classes shall not enjoy the right of citizenship,—that they shall not have the benefit of poor laws,—that they shall be taxed," &c. Which *et cetera* means all the other disabilities of the black code, which States may please to fix on the poor colored man. Yes, to this proposition and all that it drags after it, we are compelled to agree, with a pang of sorrow; and the next impulse is to inquire for a remedy. And we find that in *amalgamation* or *separation*. An election of one or the other should be made at once by every State in the Union, and a vigorous system of State policy, in harmony with that election, adopted and set in motion.

If the policy of separation as a remedy for the evils that arise from the existence of two conflicting races, be rejected, and amalgamation or its equivalent, *inaction*, be adopted, we have no more to say, except to express the hope that all the disabilities of the black code will be removed. For we must confess that our quarrel as separationists is not with the man of color, but with those very disabilities found in the sixth proposition of the objector. Yes, it is for those we desire a remedy; and if the objectors can furnish us a better plan for their removal,—for in this practical age, *the plan* is what we want, something practical and something substantial,—if a better plan than separation is furnished, we will rejoice in the discovery, and render all the aid we can to carry it out.

But if such a practical plan cannot be found and furnished, we feel disposed to advocate the redemption of the colored man from those oppressive disabilities, by a removal of the subject beyond their reach. And if that removal is considered the most practical plan, then we hope that our statesmen will not dodge this question, but come up to it,—meet it, and give us a vigorous system of State policy that will facilitate the work of removal, so that all *who desire* to emigrate to Liberia, may be transferred there without the loss of a dollar.

The seventh proposition in the above list, is designed to be the

strong point in the list of objections. It runs thus: "But *they have no right, by Divine Law*, to prohibit any human being, whom God has seen fit to create of a different color, from barely *living* upon that portion of the earth which they have themselves, or breathing of that atmosphere which happens to hang over their nation or State, a sufficient quantity for his existence."

About the atmospheric part of this proposition, we have nothing to say. But we suppose that that portion which pertains to the earth, means—if it means anything at all—that one man has as good a *right*, derived from Divine law, to live on any inhabited lot of ground as the legal incumbent or owner, and by a parity of reasoning, that any one race of men has as good a *right* to the territory of another distinct and dissimilar race, as the possessors have.

Now with this we cannot agree, for if this doctrine was admitted, it would unsettle the very foundations of society, and overturn all the recognized institutions and sound laws of our nation, and introduce an agrarianism that would pour contempt on the red republicanism of France. Nor is this doctrine in harmony with the Divine economy of which the objector speaks, which seems to be disclosed in the following language of Scripture: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times afore appointed; *and the bounds* of their habitation." "The Most High divided the nations, their inheritance, when He *separated* the sons of Adam, *He set the bounds of the people.*" Here is a *separate* and independent *subsistence*, marked out for the great families of men; and God requires us to respect this economy, and any departure from it on our part, will be to the injury both of ourselves and others. And each State, or nation, has a right to repel any departure from it by other nations or families, who would force themselves upon an incompatible community, that wished not their presence or alliance.

From the above economy, we infer that *society is an ordinance of Heaven*, having for its object the peace, prosperity and happiness of its members. Various were the lines of division that God laid down; but the chief were race and language. Each of those sub-divisions of the human family derived a *right* from the Giver of the "Higher Law," to form a government for its protection, and the removal of all political and social evils. This *original right* remains to States and nations, and is the very foundation of republicanism. They likewise received the *right* to choose the form of that government, and to amend it when such an amendment became necessary. And further, society, which implies the State, like the family, being an ordinance of Heaven, it has the *right* to prescribe the character of those who shall be amalgamated with it; and *this right* each sovereign State in this confederacy has, and retains, beyond all State or Federal Constitutions, or organic laws whatever, — and to express this right in one word, *it is the right of choice.*

But objectors often forget that *society* in its organized ca-

capacity as a State, has reserved rights, that it may assume or lay down at pleasure, and that such rights are recognized in the law of God. Now in the light of those recognized rights, we must disagree with the doctrine of the seventh proposition which legalizes intrusion, &c. &c., for God requires us to observe the rights of organized society, (States) and it is the province of magistrates and statesmen to see that those rights are respected, "*for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing.*"

The doctrine of the above proposition forbids the repulsion of an invading army.

It forbids the removal of a hostile force, that has taken possession of a part of your country.

It forbids the exclusion of the emissaries of a hostile people, who desire a lodgement in the country for purposes of revolution.

It divests statesmen and magistrates of those peculiar, special and sometimes severe powers, which God has vested in those who watch over society; by the exercise of which in given cases one man may condemn another to death; or which empowers our chief magistrate, who is naught but a fellow man, to order thousands of his fellow citizens into the field of battle, and there require them to sacrifice their lives for the good of their people.

And as to the statesman, who is the *political physician* or if need be the *surgeon*, whose duty it is to keep the body politic in a healthy state. The doctrines of the objector as stated above, ties him hand and foot, and forbids him to guard his country and people from revolution, notwithstanding all the elements of revolution may be clearly developed.

And again, it forbids the enactment of laws, or the execution of such laws when enacted, as will dislodge an intruder, who has taken possession of another's property on the ground of having an *equal right* with the owner, to the soil of his farm or the air in his room.

And lastly, this doctrine not only legalizes intrusion, but it is at variance with the doctrines of *peace* and *compromise* which are so abundant in the Bible. As separationists we claim for the colored man *all the rights of man*, but this, white society refuse to give—what then shall be done in the case? Shall we spirit on the man of color to revolution, strife and sedition, and shall this strife be kept up as long as the State stands, or one man is darker than another? Is this required at the hand of those who would be philanthropic—is this required by that law that teaches a peaceful compromise of all differences? The separationist thinks not and acts on his convictions. Hence if the colored man cannot secure his rights in this land without a revolution, we would avoid that revolution by calling him off from the field of strife, and invite him to assume a peaceful, respectable, and independent relation to other nations.

The eighth proposition arises from and is based on the seventh, but as its foundation is untenable, so the eighth is unsound.

With the ninth we agree—conscious that the heart of the separa-

tionist beats as warmly toward the colored man, as does that of the abolitionist, and we ardently hope that our statesmen will provide a home for the colored man, either on this continent or in Africa, where he can be a free man.

As to the tenth, the writer considers it a doubtful point, so we will not trouble ourselves about his doubts, as we desire to deal in clear terms, considering that it is only an inference from the seventh which has been answered.

We are now prepared to maintain, that it is the duty of governments to apply to all existing political, or social evils, such remedies as are best adapted to remove them; and to prevent such national or social calamities as they may foresee—and it is the duty of statesmen and magistrates to see that those remedies and preventatives are used—"for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing." In the exercise of these *their rights*, they may repel an invading army, remove a hostile force, enforce the observance of law, punish the disobedient, and in short, use and exercise constitutionally, all those severe, yet wholesome powers which God has vested in the *sword bearers* of society, and who are accountable for their conduct, to the Great King in the first place, whose "*Higher Law*" *reaches them*, and binds them to the discharge of the duties of their office. And they are accountable in the second place, to the constitutional powers which appointed them, whose well being and peace they are bound to seek, irrespective of the opinions of individual members of society, whose limited sphere of observation may prevent them from fully comprehending the wisdom, or rectitude of a given course of policy, designed to carry with it a national benefit, the effect of which may not be so clearly seen now, as in future ages, but which *must* result with mathematical certainty, in the *salvation* of two races, from great evils, and the moral regeneration of two continents. For notwithstanding our self-complacency, our republicanism must be vitiated as long as slavery exists amongst us, and just so long will the moral precepts of the Divine Law be disregarded.

A REMONSTRANCE AGAINST BRITISH INTERFERENCE.

Before we close this subject permit me to record a mild protest against the conduct of the people of England in relation to the system of American emancipation. I would not take this liberty were it not that too many of the American people sympathize with the views and measures of the "British Anti-Slavery Society," which rules the English people and government with a rod of iron—for the British Anti-Slavery Society is the concentrated popular power of the British Empire, at whose beck the ministry acts on all questions of slavery. This power springs from all the churches of the land, and is the supreme ruler in all the great centers of influence. This Society, not content with controlling the British Empire, aspires to control the United States; and to effect this desired object money has been expended, lecturers appointed, and abolition documents and opinions peculiar to the abolition of slavery as it existed within that monarchy, have been reproduced in this republic; and much mischief has resulted from good men remaining blind to the incompatibility of English systems with American institutions—hence they have listened to the teaching of their English friends, who, right or wrong, have determined to engraft their system of abolition on this nation. All such interference on the part of England will do harm and retard the very work they so much desire—the reformers of America must be Americans, or they will not succeed.

The last remarkable act of interference on the part of England, in this matter, was the visit of Hon. G. Thompson, M. P. for the Tower, Hamlets, London, who, in the year 1839, had honored us with a former visit, on a like mission of revolution. During his stay amongst us, we prepared two articles for publication, remonstrating

against his conduct and system of policy, but circumstances that it is unnecessary to mention prevented their publication. However, we will place on record the substance of those remonstrances, as there are many in this land who hold the opinions derived from the English school. And as Mr. Thompson has paid us two visits in past time, it is possible that, being so well paid,* he may visit us a third time in the future. Therefore, we would humbly enter this protest of an American minister who has the fortune to be somewhat acquainted with the structure of both English and American society. In doing this, we will keep up the style first adopted, viz:

A REMONSTRANCE AGAINST BRITISH INTERFERENCE, ADDRESSED TO THE
HON. G. THOMPSON, M. P. FOR THE TOWER HAMLETS, LONDON.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., April 20th, 1851.

SIR:—We pen the following stricture on your singular mission, and the manner in which you have conducted that mission. In thus addressing you, we are not actuated by unkind feelings towards Englishmen, but by a desire to correct, as far as possible, your erroneous views of the structure of society in the United States—hoping to secure from you in the future a more favorable regard for the American system of emancipation which you now denounce in such unmeasured terms.

Your visit to this country as a revolutionist, must be considered by every sober man as an aggression on the American people, and such an one as few nations would be willing quietly to endure; and we truly rejoice that the American people have the disposition to quietly submit to the insults of a foreign emissary. For it is generally supposed that you have been sent out to this land by the Anti-Slavery Society of Great Britain, which, fearing the growing popularity of ("that venerable humbug," as you style it,) the American Colonization Society, has resolved to "carry the war into Africa."

It is truly a singular passage in the history of our times, that, because our American plan of emancipation does not suit the English abolitionists, they must despatch an agent to dictate to an independent and truly jealous people the plan of abolition they must adopt, and to prescribe the ways and means of carrying out that plan.

For many years past, your societies, regardless of consequences, have agitated this nation, through a thousand channels; by correspondence with the Society of Friends, and other ecclesiastical bodies in this land; by their auxiliary anti-slavery societies formed amongst Americans; and last, though not least, by the direct agency of an experienced agitator, who comes to us fresh from under the shadow of the throne that he is pledged to support. Thus you come, with a mass of crude notions about the structure of republican society,

* On Mr. Thompson's return to Scotland, after his first visit to this country, the people of Glasgow presented him £2000, or some \$4,500.

and a determination to revolutionize it if you can. And with all the dogmatism peculiar to the dictator, you perambulate the country, and denounce America and her people—their religion and their literature—but chiefly the ministers of America. And why? Because we will not turn abolitionists.

You act as though we were insensible to the evils of slavery, and had no desire to remove those evils; we assure you we know and feel the evils of slavery. Ah, yes! this political ulcer is felt by all our good men, in all sections of our land, and many have been the prayers offered up to the great ruler, that he would guide our statesmen into the best way of removing it—that he would give them wisdom and firmness, and direct their hand whilst this political ulcer was being removed. But we are so sore and sensitive that we will not submit to the operations of a European quack; no matter how liberal he may be considered at home, we maintain that strangers lack the knowledge and experience necessary to the discharge of this great work.

No doubt you are actuated by the purest motives of philanthropy in visiting the United States. You cannot be actuated by those foolish and unworthy motives that sometimes move men to go from home—that they may see the wonders of the new world, and be lionized abroad, and then return home to make capital of such a crusade against American Slavery, in the struggles of the “hustings,” where a shout against American Slavery would be sufficient to canonize a man, especially in such a place as the Tower Hamlets. However, we will not impute such unworthy motives to you, for surely you would not forsake your place in “the House” at this crisis unless more powerful influences and motives prompted you—hence, we think we do not err when we regard you as the emissary of the British Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir, you are the sworn representative of a part of the people of Great Britain, and as such you have erred in forsaking your post in “The House of Commons”—you have widely departed from that good council given to all men, “that you study to be quiet and do to your own business,” by taking upon you such a mission as the revolution of a nation to which you owe no allegiance, and whose political structure is sound, with but the exception of domestic slavery.

Is the political structure of the English Government and nation so sound that they need no more cobbling—that its cobblers must go from home to find something to do? Are not Mr. T.’s votes and influence required to purge the Church of God from all the acknowledged abuses which “the crown” has introduced. You have full power to reform those abuses, for “the crown” is the Head of the English church—the crown regulates the Creed and Ritual; but the standing authority in the establishment is “the ministry” and their party in Parliament, the controlling branch of which is “the House” of which you are a member. If you wish to act as a reformer you can find a wide field in the establishment.

And when you have relieved three-fourths of England, and nine-tenths of the people of Ireland, from Church taxes and tithes which they pay to maintain church institutions that they will not respect, you can then turn your attention to poor Ireland, that "land for which God has done everything, but man nothing." There sir you will find white men reduced to a state of serfdom—*can they not* command your sympathies, and call out your greatest energies in behalf of "the oppressed." We will not suppose for one moment you are of the many thousands of Englishmen, who are familiar with such expressions as "white savages," "Celts are incapable of enjoying liberty," "Celts cannot endure institutions." Oh no! doubtless you are too magnanimous—your mission to this land forbids the supposition. But then sir, Ireland is suffering at this very moment from the iron heel of the Saxon, why not run to her relief—you need not be alarmed at an approach to her, for she is now quiet—there is no longer cause for alarm as the spirit of "The Nation" (*Mitchell*) has been arrested, and now lies in chains, no longer do the thunders of that press stir the masses of Ireland to deeds of revolt; the hand of power has depressed the rising spirit of an oppressed people—see how her hills and green plains are glistening with the many thousand bristling bayonets of British troops; one-third of your standing army being required to watch over a half starved and heart broken nation.

Go, recall your armies from that stricken land,—let your churchmen adopt the *voluntary system*, and no longer *force* an abjectly poor people to feed a lazy and luxurious clergy. Give Ireland a local Legislature, and restore some of the rights of men to her people, and then you can lay some claim to the character of reformer.

But if you desire to become an American Reformer; if you are disgusted with the structure of European society, with its crime and poverty; no doubt you can find a home here, for the American nation in the exercise of an undoubted right, have resolved to give all white races a place among them; whilst they have refused to receive on the same terms the black man. But then if you come here you will be naturalized no doubt, and take the oath of allegiance to the *Constitution of the United States*, which we are sorry to say, closely binds three million fellow beings in domestic slavery. But this, neither you nor I can help, so the question with us is "to be, or not to be" an American citizen with all its advantages? This was the question that a person of our acquaintance weighed twelve years—seven years before he took the first oath, and five years before he took the final one, and then ended by becoming a reluctant but firm believer, in the doctrine of African colonization, and an advocate of direct separation of the African and white race, as the best and only remedy for the evils of American slavery. When you have passed through such a mental struggle you will be better prepared to judge American ministers and their religion; but whilst you are a subject of the British throne, that towers above, and is enshrined on millions

of prostrate men, we assure you that your mission here will do the cause of African emancipation much harm.

We may be mistaken, but we think the American plan of emancipation has the approbation of God, and that it is His design to relieve us from the curse of slavery by a national system of colonization, which will make the colored man our equal, *but in a separate State*. But in carrying out this plan, England thinks herself called upon to embarrass us, and present as many obstacles as she can. The virulent attack of the British Anti-Slavery Society on Mr. Clay, because of his late emancipation letter, (that to Judge Robinson from New Orleans,) is fresh in the memory of all who have watched the movements of that association; which, although comprehending many good men, nay, the controllers of your empire, and which has for its objects many good things,—is yet wholly ignorant of the wants and condition of the republican institutions of the United States.

It is truly strange that a set of men unacquainted with the structure of republican society, or the necessity of each republican being in all essential things the equal of his neighbor, should with so much pertinacity oppose the separation of the races in this land, and the colonization of the colored race, and insist on unconditional emancipation on the soil of the United States. The secret seems to be the desire of the English people to entail on this country servile classes and castes, which must form the substrata of a privileged class, *and thus assimilate our institutions to those of England*, which will be a lasting guarantee to the existing institutions of the old world.

But if the above conduct of the English is strange, it is still more strange that any American would receive his doctrines of emancipation from England; and yet how many are there who have permitted the conclaves of the old world to dictate to them on this one of the most important subjects that can claim the attention of the American people, whilst they turn away from the teachings of the fathers of the republic.

This state of things must be righted up, for it is unwise in the people of this nation to lend themselves to your plan. Indeed, it is time for Englishmen themselves to review the ground of action. A select and titled few, in an island not much larger than one of our States, yet controlling vast territories and colonies, far removed from their island home, resolved to make Britain's slaves free. The Crown spoke the word, and it was done. England's peasants were elevated a degree. But England's nobles and governors suffered no corruption of blood thereby, nor were deprived of any privilege. Emancipation in its effects, reach not to the shores of England. And then your second measure is to make us follow your example, although a corruption of blood stares us in the face, and sectional conflicts are sure to follow. And to carry your point, you bring down on us the whole moral power of your empire; and while you are united at home on your own plans of emancipation, you double your influence on us, by dividing our people as to *their* plans, making one-half adopt your

system. Thus the American system has been crushed and embarrassed by the moral power of England.

Your third measure, the suppression of "the African slave trade," by armed blockade, should likewise be reviewed. In the stubbornness of your national character, you have drawn this nation into your measures on this point too; and now we are compelled by treaty to sustain a squadron of eighty guns on the western coast of Africa, at an annual expense of near \$300,000, and this, too, whilst our convictions are all in favor of colonization, as the best mode of suppressing that horrid traffic,—whilst your association has made your own treasury bleed for the same object at the rate of about \$120,000,000, exclusive of the sums expended by other nations in aiding you to blockade. And notwithstanding all this labor and expense, over 80,000 Africans are stolen from Africa annually.

These are your great national measures, and this is their cost; and we have been foolish enough to follow you. How much longer we will do so, we cannot tell. God grant that the time may be short. However, we have no doubt but the time will come when our statesmen will examine the figures, and discover that over one hundred settlements, as large as Liberia, which has suppressed the slave trade on over six hundred miles of the coast of Africa, can be founded for the sum you have paid to maintain a blockade, and thus a line of republics 60,000 miles in length, could be wrapped round and round the continent of Africa. But England hates colonization as practiced by Americans, and therefore she will not adopt the system.

But we think the time is coming when you shall be compelled to abandon your plans and measures, and aid us in carrying out our measures; for before many years Russia and her coadjutors will place you in such circumstances as will enable us to dictate terms of aid; and be assured so long as there is one spring of enterprize left unbroken in American diplomacy, and one pulsation in America's mighty heart, that beats for equal rights and liberty, the articles that bind us to aid you against despotism, will bind you to aid us in the work of restoring the African to his country from which your fathers tore him, and to which he must be returned, ere we are secure.

You are represented as saying "that God has rained on the United States what is worse than pestilence and famine—*thirty thousand recreant priests.*" And why do you think them recreant? Is it because they cannot go to all the extremes of revolution, or opposition to governments, that the anti-slavery society which you serve dictates? Is it because the ministers of this nation are law abiding men? Is direct revolution, or opposition to governments any part of the divine commission given by the great teacher to his servants? Go to the Bible, sir, and there learn in the first place that it is a duty "to study to be quiet and to do your own business;" and it is the duty of the teacher of religion to "put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates;" and as to the duty of the governed, it is clear—"let every one be subject to

the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God." "Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for truth but for conscience sake." This was addressed to the Roman Christians who were citizens of a nation; and under a government the most corrupt in that day; which, when contrasted with the republic of the United States, and our federal government, makes the teachings of revolutionists stand forth in black deformity. Truly, sir, this is an age of progress. You have far outstripped St. Paul in your "higher morality;" and feel authorized to absolve the American ministry of all obligation to governments. You spoke the truth when you said you did "not understand the religion" of those ministers.

The great mass of the ministers of the United States are men of *one work*; they avoid political strife, and dread a conflict with the regularly constituted powers of the land; they are not drilled to politics as your priests are. Nor is their class represented in the State or national councils by "LORDS SPIRITUAL." They do not vote in such councils on questions of war, &c. &c. They were never guilty of voting such a thing as the war with China. They do not legislate to coerce an unwilling people to pay a tenth of their income to support "the lords spiritual" and their assistants. They never voted to proclaim martial law over a heart broken and starving people, nor to suspend the "habeas corpus act" as in the summer of 1848. Query. How did Mr. Thompson vote on the Irish question? No doubt he was for the repeal of the Legislative Union; "a local Parliament" for Ireland; resident proprietors, and all the other liberal measures. Can we give you credit for all this?

We know that we are not blameless in the United States; but we doubt, *very much doubt*, whether the Great Ruler ever appointed a member of Parliament to convict us of our sins, or convert us to a better life. You must forgive us, sir, but we claim for our American religion as high a place as your European system holds.

But the great sin of the American ministry, when judged by the British Anti-slavery Society, and those in this country who import their opinions, is that they will not become abolitionists *without conditions and without plans*.

Were they to become abolitionists they would disorganize this nation, and possibly produce a civil war. This cannot be the first and great work of good men; and if they have any policy at all, it is a national policy, and not a sectional one. Think it not strange, then, that they are in favor of a separation of the white and colored races of this land as a *peace measure*. For they acknowledge the truth that "no two races kept distinct by the refusal of the stronger to fuse with the weaker, can dwell together in the same country on terms of social equality." We can give you many illustrations of this truth from the history of the world; and it matters not what constitutes *the line of distinction*, whether race, religion or color. The result is the same, if the line of distinction is maintained. You

will find in the history of Ireland a striking example of the workings of this principle.

In Ireland you have two distinct races—the Milesian and the Saxon. The former are the rightful owners of the soil. The latter are the intruders. For ages they have struggled against each other for supremacy; nor did they ever amalgamate, for to do so would be to lose caste. So soon as the conquest was effected, stringent laws prevented a corruption of blood on either side. The Reformation found them in this state of strife. The Saxons followed their brethren in England and became protestants. The Milesians remained true to the catholic faith. Up to that time both had been of one faith. From the time of the reformation the line of distinction appears to be religion; but the actual line *is* race. I need not tell you what has been the consequence of this difference of race. It stands forth in characters of blood on every page of your country's history. And for the evils that afflict that unhappy land there are but two remedies—amalgamation, or a total separation of the races. If the first is not secured soon, American emigration will effect the second.

SENTIMENTS OF A PRACTICAL EMANCIPATIONIST—REV. MR. M'CLUNG'S ADDRESS.

In concluding this answer we are enabled to place on record the sentiments of a southern gentlemen of reputation, who has emancipated his slaves, and removed to the north, and is now in pastoral charge of the first Presbyterian church in this city.

A short time past the friends of the colonization enterprise held a mass meeting in the State House; on which occasion they were addressed by some of our eminent statesmen, and it was on that occasion that Rev. J. A. McClung, formerly of Kentucky, expressed the following sentiments, which being so much to the point, I have obtained a brief for publication:

MR. MCCLUNG commented by observing that all Europeans who had traveled amongst us, had charged us with an overweening national vanity, although as individuals, they regarded us at least upon a level with other nations, in all the kindly and amiable personal qualities. Yet many of them qualified the remark by confessing that we had a vast deal, as a nation, to be proud of, and if we were not lifted up in our own estimation, it would be truly wonderful. All, however, who have regarded us, whether friends or enemies, have agreed that there is a dark thread in the woof of our destiny, which threatens disaster and death, unless remedied. He desired to preface the subject of colonization by bringing before the audience two considerations, which would prepare the public opinion on slavery, within the last hundred years. Another was able change in public opinion of the merely political consequences of slavery at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Under the first head Mr. McClung took a rapid survey of the condition of public opinion on the slave trade, a century ago, when the English Parliament was publicly congratulated in a speech from the throne, upon their having obtained a *monopoly* of the slave trade to the Spanish colonies,—when sixty ships would sail from Liverpool in one season, laden with *shackles and toys* for the coast of Guinea, and when all the States of this Union, in their colonial condition, were slave holding colonies, and all engaged, directly or indirectly, in the slave trade. He rapidly reviewed the gradual change as manifested by the abolition of the slave trade, and the gradual abolition of slavery almost every where, save in Cuba and the slave States of the Union; and stated that *public opinion* was still slowly but steadily undermining the institution, and in conjunction with other causes, would probably accomplish its fall.

Under the second head he referred to the speeches of Southern statesmen in the Madison Papers, as an evidence of the ignorance then existing among able Southern statesmen of the injurious effect exerted upon population, by the institution. They evidently supposed that the South would eventually be more populous than the North, because their territory was more extensive. It is now well understood in the South, that slavery exercises an injurious effect upon population, in the country as well as in town, and that towns and cities do not flourish in a slave country, save under very favorable circumstances. He then adverted to the fact that the slaves increased with prodigious rapidity, and showed it by the reports of the census; while slave territory did not, and in all probability would not, increase any more, as no more slave territory would be added to the Union. He then entered into statistical details to show that the inevitable result would be a great depreciation in the value of slaves within twenty-five years; and before a half century expired, their numbers would be so frightfully increased, while the *territory* within which they would be employed, would be so impaired in fertility, that the most dreadful consequences might justly be apprehended. "Give me more room to spread, or I perish," was the cry of the South. "Not another square mile," was the reply of the North. Expeditions to Cuba, insurrections in Mexican regions adapted to slave labor, were the shadows of coming events of more magnitude, and of portentous character. What was to be the final result, he could not say; but in no light did it bode anything but evil.

Now one consequence of all these things, was a rapidly increasing emancipation of slaves in slave States. He entered into statistical details to show that in Maryland, Delaware and Kentucky, emancipation was rapidly increasing, and in all probability as the evils of slavery became more pressing, would increase still more rapidly. Now, then, emancipated slaves were very *unhappy* in slave States, and there was a constant stream flowing northward. In Indiana, they were received as enemies, with closed ranks and levelled bayonets. Then they were driven from the slave to the free States, and by the free States were driven back upon the slaves. "The Barbarian drives us upon the sea, and the sea drives us back upon the Barbarian."

Mr. McClung contended that the free black population of the Northern States were more wretched than the slaves of the South, from the fact that they felt more acutely their degradation, and showed that the slaves of the South increased nearly four times as rapidly as the free blacks of the Northern States. He referred to Ireland and the Turkish Provinces as an evidence that *suffering* was one cause of a slow increase, and even produced decrease. He gave instances of free blacks who had acquired wealth, and yet were wretched because they found themselves driven to herd with *slaves*, or else abide alone, and brook the scorn and disgrace which their color imposed. He contended that all the States were responsible for the existence of slavery, and particularly adverted to the fact that the slave trade for twenty years had been engrafted into the Constitution of the United States, against the solemn remonstrance of George Mason, of Virginia, by the united votes of *all the States*,—the New England States being *forward* and zealous in adopting it. He contended that Indiana, by her Constitution, had fixed a *brand*, a *Cata-like* mark upon the free black, within her border, and ought, in common charity and good policy, to aid him in going to Liberia, where he could have a *motive* to exertion, and a *hope* to rise. What motive had the free black to exertion here? Could all the virtues of humanity wash away the *only crime* which condemned him to scorn and disgrace? In Liberia he could be happy, and honorable, and useful. Here he must be wretched and disgraced.

Mr. McClung took a review of the colony of Liberia, and contended that its progress surpassed that of any colony with whose history we were minutely acquainted, and that civil and religious freedom was more firmly established there than in any European continental government, and as an evidence of the fact, he showed that justice was regularly administered, all officers elected by universal suffrage, and taxes collected in a regular and orderly manner, without a standing army and without tumult or confusion. He adverted to the fact that the *trade* of Liberia was already of some importance, was rapidly

growing, and if she increased as rapidly, as she certainly would if the States would pursue a liberal policy with regard to their free blacks, that the profit of the trade with her alone, would tenfold repay all expense of settlement. Great Britain settled colonies at vast expense merely as a nursery for shipping and a market for manufactory. Liberia did now and always would give us the preference over all other nations.

Lastly, he dwelt upon it as a grand missionary enterprise, and entered into statistics to show that merely as a missionary enterprise, it surpassed all others in real and permanent efficiency, and that in the good Providence of God it seemed about to become the instrument of redeeming and regenerating the African continent. The sum proposed to be given was trifling, but would nevertheless effect great good, and would be most sensibly felt in its effects upon the colony.

We will now close this answer by quoting one of the resolutions submitted to the above mass meeting, by our excellent Governor, which embodies the policy of that State which "knows no north, no south, nothing but the Union," and which resolution was ably supported by Hon. R. D. Owen and others:

"*Resolved*, That Indiana, by her recent vote, not only decided in favor of *exclusion* of Negroes and Mulattoes, but likewise for the *colonization* of those among us; that she means by colonization, the proper appropriation and application of funds to accomplish what she desires—the gradual separation of the two races; that this separation is called for by all the principles of **CHRISTIANITY, HUMANITY, and FREEDOM**. Therefore the Representatives of the people of Indiana should take bold and decided ground on this question of American policy."

We hope that we will ever be found ready to suppress all issues between the north and the south, and equally firm to demand the right of all, and do the right to all men. If issues must arise let them be between America as a unit, and foreign powers that aspire to meddle with our institutions.

Respectfully submitted,
J. MITCHELL.

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